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OCTOBER, 1944

GERMANY

BASIC HANDBOOK

PART III

NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE

H3783 – 0002

H3783 – 0003

TABLE OF CONVERSIONS

To Change	*To*	*Multiply by*
centimetres	inches	·394
metres	feet	3·281
metres	yards	1·094
kilometres	miles	·621
inches	centimetres	2·540
feet	metres	·305
yards	metres	·914
miles	kilometres	1·609
hectares	acres	2·471
sq. kilometres	sq. miles	·386
acres	hectares	·405
sq. miles	sq. kilometres	2·590
grammes	ounces	·035
ounces	grammes	28·350
kilograms	pounds	2·205
pounds	kilograms	·454
long tons	metric tons	1·016
metric tons	long tons	·984
litres	pints	1·760
pints	litres	·568
litres	gallons	·220
gallons	litres	4·546
Fahrenheit	Centigrade	subtract 32 and × $\frac{5}{9}$
Centigrade	Fahrenheit	× $\frac{9}{5}$ and add 32

Rough Approximations

10 cms. = 4 inches
11 metres = 12 yards
8 kms. = 5 miles
50 kms. = 31 miles
26 sq. kms. = 10 sq. m.

1 hectare = 2½ acres
5 kgs. = 11 lbs.
1 litre = 1¾ pints
1 hectolitre = 22 gallons
metric ton = 2,205 lbs.

Temperatures

212° F = 100° C.
98·6° F = 37° C.
32° F = 0° C.

NOTICE

Any suggestions as to amendment of the contents of this Handbook, other than the Economic Survey, should be made in writing and addressed to :—

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The Economic Survey has been prepared by the Foreign Office and Ministry of Economic Warfare, Economic Advisory Branch, and inquiries for further information on matters contained herein, and any suggestions, should be directed to :—

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OCTOBER, 1944

CHAPTER I

THE "NEW ORDER"

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Bibliographical Notes

I.—Introduction

The Nazi programme of 1922 appeared to be expansionist only in so far as it demanded the " union of all Germans, based on the right of self-determination of peoples, to form a Greater Germany."

Hitler, in his autobiography, however, showed a tendency to discard the political unification of all Germans as the guiding principle of future German foreign policy and replaced it by demands for living space. Time and again he reiterated that the Nazi movement must strive to eliminate the disproportion between the number of Germans and the area occupied by them; nor was " *Lebensraum* " to be regarded solely as a source of food but also as a " basis for power politics." The restoration of the frontiers of 1918 was hence regarded as a foolish aim as it would not solve the principal problem; in fact, it was meaningless from the point of view of Germany's future, which depended on securing for the German people the living space " to which they are entitled." From the struggle to achieve this " Germany will either emerge as a world power or cease to exist."

To find space, Hitler advised his people to stop the age-long movement to the south and west, to turn their gaze eastwards and continue the work begun by the Teutonic Knights six centuries ago. This in brief is his " political testament " to the German nation: " See to it that the strength of our nation is founded, not on colonies, but on the soil of our European homeland. Never regard the Reich as secure unless for centuries to come it can provide every one of its members with his own strip of land." This testament, by the way, did not exclude a final reckoning with France.*

Hitler's protestations of his peaceful intentions at the beginning of his chancellorship could hardly deceive anyone who had read " *Mein Kampf* " and appreciated its main maxim, namely that " a great people is doomed to perish if it does not expand its space." The restriction of his foreign political ambitions to the east was soon abandoned. It seems worth while to examine what Rauschning reports as the upshot of a conversation on foreign policy early in 1934:

> " We need space," said Hitler then, " to make us independent of every possible political grouping and alliance. In the east, we must have the mastery as far as the Caucasus and Iran. In the west, we need the French coast. We need Flanders and Holland. Above all we need Sweden. We must become a colonial power. We must have sea power equal to that of Britain. We cannot, like Bismarck, limit ourselves to national aims. We shall rule Europe or fall apart as a nation, fall back into the chaos of small states. Do you not understand why I cannot limit myself either to the west or to the east? "*

And so he visualises his " New Order ":

> " In the centre I shall place the steely core of a Greater Germany welded into an indissoluble unity. Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, Western Poland: a block of one hundred million, indestructible, without a flaw, without an alien element, the firm foundation of our power. Then an eastern confederation: Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary, the Balkan States, the Volga basin, Georgia. A confederation, but not of equal partners; a confederation of vassal states (*Hilfsvölker*), with no army, no separate foreign policy, no separate national economy. I have no intention of making concessions on sentimental grounds, to Hungary, for example. I make no distinction between friends and foes. The day of the small states is passed. Also in the west—a western confederation: Holland, Flanders, Northern France (*Nordfranken*). A northern confederation: Denmark, Norway, Sweden."*

Whether Rauschning's notes on his conversations with Hitler may be regarded as an unimpeachable historical source or not, there can be no doubt that the above ideas were rampant in Nazi circles from the very beginning. The essentials of the " new order " with a " Greater Germany " as its core surrounded by satellite nations deprived of every vestige of political or economic independence are contained in the passages quoted, and an attempt was made to put them into practice four years after Rauschning had published his book. In 1936, Hitler for once revealed his intentions (inadvertently perhaps) when he complained to the Labour Front at the Party rally how thankless a task it was to be responsible for the subsistence of a people of 68 millions confined, according to him, within an impossibly narrow area. " If we had at our disposal," he continued, " the incalculable wealth and stores of raw material of the Ural mountains and if the unending fertile plains of the Ukraine could be exploited under Nazi leadership, then we would produce, and our German people would wallow in plenty."†

German official foreign policy revealed these aims cautiously and gradually. The immediate

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* For above see " *Mein Kampf,*" 44th ed. 1933, pp. 740–755, or translation by Ralph Manheim, Boston, 1943, pp. 646–664.

* Hermann Rauschning, " Hitler Speaks," London, 1939, p. 126–128.

† Hitler's speeches ed. by Baynes, p. 929—The official German version issued after the speech, substituted for Hitler's actual words: " If the Urals, Ukraine and Siberia lay in Germany . . ."

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task was to prepare Germany for the mighty struggle which would result from pursuing such aims. The transformation of the internal economic system from peace to war economy was accompanied by such acts as withdrawal from the League of Nations (November, 1933), the shaking off one after another of the "fetters of Versailles" the introduction of conscription (1935) and, conjointly with the unilateral breach of the Locarno treaties, the re-occupation of the Rhineland (1936). The last step secured the western flank and made any interference by France, short of a preventive war, impossible. A few months later the first step was taken farther afield: intervention in Spain, as a large-scale exercise for the German Army and the youthful *Luftwaffe*. Territorially, the only gain during the first five years was the recovery of the Saar territory (January, 1935), as the result of a plebiscite provided for in the Treaty of Versailles. The Saar, with its rich coal mines, meant a further strengthening of Hitler's war potential and a considerable strategical advantage in the west.

Hitler's policy in its second period was one of "peaceful" aggression based on the Party programme of the union of all Germans outside the boundaries of the Reich. The annexation of Austria and the partition of Czechoslovakia brought Hitler nearly 10 million new *Volksgenossen*, and at the same time neutralised the one military force that really counted in eastern and south-eastern Europe—the Czech army. The gateway to the Balkan peninsula was now wide open, and Hitler was able to exploit to the full the economic subjugation of the Balkan nations that had been gradually proceeding since 1933.

Hitler's aggressions up to and including the annexation of the "Sudetenland" could be represented as consonant with his policy of uniting all Germans within the Reich. Indeed on September 26th, 1938, he solemnly protested that the Sudetenland was "the last territorial claim" he had to make in Europe.

The decisive overthrow of this proclaimed policy came in March, 1939, when he descended upon the remainder of Czechoslovakia, turned Bohemia-Moravia into a "Protectorate" as an integral part of "Greater Germany," and created the first vassal state, Slovakia. With this move he achieved a stranglehold on the Balkans and, at the same time, effected the encirclement of Poland. The annexation of the Memel territory a week after the occupation of Prague, broadened the basis of his east-Prussian buttress, and the stage was set for the drive eastwards. Hitler would probably have liked to continue his "peaceful" and "bloodless" aggression without interference from the western powers, but when he occupied Danzig on September 1st, 1939, his challenge was taken up by Poland in the east and by Great Britain and France in the west.

II.—The Proclamation of the "New Order"*

The "New Order" in Europe was not an avowed German war aim until September, 1939; it was further developed after Germany had gained control over Western Europe in June, 1940; but it is significant that it did not become a propaganda instrument of the first magnitude until the Reich had suffered its first reverse in the Battle of Britain. When it became clear to the peoples of Europe that no immediate Nazi victory was in sight, "New Order" propaganda was intensified in order to sap the resistance of opponents and potential opponents by promises of the better world now being organised by the Germans—a Utopia whose realisation was only delayed by the "senseless" resistance of the British.

There are various versions of the "New Order" and, as is common in Nazi philosophy, they contradict each other. The baits held out to different peoples, or groups of persons, were all chosen with a view to fulfilling their particular aspirations. Only a few of these forms of the "New Order" can be examined, but common to all is the conception that Nazi supremacy should be the one definite factor in Europe (and therefore in the world) and that other peoples would have to accommodate themselves to it since the Germans claimed that it would give them advantages they did not enjoy during the period of so-called "European chaos."

Promises made to the German people assured them of a higher standard of living, based on the national planning and full development of the European production of food and raw materials; at the same time, Europe's markets were to be expanded to absorb the industrial products of Germany, which was to be the sole supplier of their products. Berlin would take London's place as Europe's financial centre. Free from British interference, the Germans would re-establish a colonial empire in Africa, which would provide Europe with the resources it lacked. When the attack on Russia appeared to be succeeding, the dreams of 1936 seemed about to be realised. The rich granary of the Ukraine was to assure Germany's industrial autarchy. In addition there was land in plenty to be given to the millions of German soldiers after the war; administrative jobs in their tens of thousands in the annexed and "backward" occupied countries were open for Hitler's "political soldiers," and the work of planning and supervising Europe's new economy would give employment to his "economic soldiers and officers."

At home, these prospects, dangled before the eyes of the German people, were expressed quite bluntly by eminent German leaders. "Within the Greater German space, the German worker will be used only for higher forms of work, which means that he will get the highest wages, enabling him to have the highest possible standard of living," wrote a Munich paper in December, 1941; and Rosenberg eight months later proclaimed: "The German nation must make it clear to all other nations that if anyone is to claim a privileged position, it is Germany and her immediate allies."

For the inhabitants of the occupied countries propaganda concerning the "New Order" was, of course, different; and it varied with the different regions. All were promised the benefits of the "New Order," the abolition of unemployment, a market in Germany for their agricultural surplus unaffected by the fluctuation of world prices. The Dutch as a Germanic nation were to be compensated for the loss of their colonies by a share in the exploitation of Eastern Europe. The Belgians (particularly the Flemings) and the Danes were also to have their share. The French were to continue to provide their peculiar *Kultur*, on which the Germans sometimes tried to flatter them. The Norwegians, permanently deprived of their maritime power, were to cultivate their soil for their own benefit and that of the rest of the continent. Ukrainians, White Russians (or White Ruthenians as they were called) and the Baltic peoples were all to have their own cultural autonomy and to become again free farmers on their own land. But the supreme benefit to be reaped from German supervision was the final

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* See also Duncan Wilson, "Germany's 'New Order,'" Oxford Pamphlet No. 46, 1941.

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elimination of the Bolshevik menace, just as the West would be finally liberated from British tyranny. At the height of the German success, when the Suez Canal and the Caucasian oilfields seemed within their grasp, the idea of a "Greater Europe" cropped up, though it was not mentioned until March 21st, 1943. It was said to be the "most far-reaching conception of Europe yet attempted." "Greater Europe," the DAZ explained, "is the minimum space needed to secure the existence of the occidental peoples. This living space can be safeguarded permanently only if extended to the steppes in the East and to the surrounding seas." The link with the Greater Asiatic *Grossraum* was then to be established.

Haushofer's geo-political visions and the dreams of *Grossraumwirtschaft* celebrated their greatest triumphs during this period. The new gospel of Nazi economy, built upon self-sufficiency, was said to be not only German in its outlook, but European. Its aim was that each unit should satisfy all requirements beyond its domestic production in the nearest neighbouring countries of the European family, "a morality which imposes equal obligations and confers equal rights on all nations of Europe." This New Order of the European nations was to develop the greatest possible vitality and energy within its "natural continental framework"—"from Gibraltar to the Urals, and from the North Cape down to the African coast, *including the natural complementary areas of Western Siberia and Africa.*" Every European nation that desired to survive was therefore exhorted to complete its own national revolution, as these national revolutions are at the same time European revolutions and tended to create a European community feeling. In the end, the nations of Europe were to form one indivisible national community, with a common life, a common destiny and "the prospect of raising the standard of living to an extent hitherto undreamed of."*

Compared with these alluring appeals addressed to the European audience, the voice of German industry and commerce struck a contradictory note. For example the President of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce at a New Year's gathering, 1943, said:

> "The task of *Grossraumwirtschaft*, which is coming into its stride, is to mobilise all the people in this space. It must be expressly pointed out that none of the countries belonging to this space will be allowed to stand aside."

Referring to the bait of a higher standard of living, he continued:

> "The obsolete views concerning the maintenance of the present standard of living which are held for instance in the countries of western and northern Europe, are no longer of importance and cannot be recognised by us. The necessity for mobilising all efforts for the war dominates the present hour. In this connection it is clear that the production of armaments to defend our *Grossraum* must come before everything else. In order that the best arms be produced, the productive capacity of the European *Grossraum*, must be maintained and developed."

The last sentence is most significant in that it reveals a sharp cleavage between the views held by certain influential sections inside Germany Proper. The one school supported the view that Germany was to be the sole industrial power and the other nations were to be purely agricultural; according to the former Reich Minister of Agriculture, Walter Darré, this was the fate in store for England also. On the other hand, the school of thought represented by the President of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce insisted on the necessity for maintaining productive capacity in the conquered countries, naturally under the control of German industrialists.

III.—The Defence of Europe

With the turn of the tide at Stalingrad and El Alamein, the "New Order" underwent a significant reshaping. Thereafter the Germans became "crusaders for the protection of European culture." Since then little has been said even inside the Reich about *Germany's* struggle; the whole emphasis has been laid on *Europe's* struggle. Complaints are frequently launched about widespread misunderstandings of German aims. "Only an international misconception of the Nazi doctrines," said Press Chief Dietrich on March 12th, 1943, "could come to the conclusion that Hitlerism aimed at might dominating right, or at the philosophy of the master race." The previous day Goebbels declared at a Press conference that Germany aimed at a new order "not held together by force and power, but based on free will." As late as November 4th, 1943, the "*Völkische Beobachter*" in an article on "The Battle for Europe" declared that Germany, in the hour of her proudest triumphs, had brought up for discussion "the constructive idea of a European order based on the principle of peaceful competition on a national basis." The author makes it clear to the peoples of Europe that the existence is at stake, not of one nation, but of all, and that everyone must admit, even though grudgingly, that "there cannot be a Europe without the German people, either now or in the future. As in past centuries, now too our continent can resist the eastern danger only with the help of this one people, and those who are not closely linked to fighting Germany will be hopelessly lost."

Hand in hand with these protestations ran the wooing of the small states, whose value had suddenly been re-discovered, and whose right to equality and independence was suddenly recognised. Croatia was released from the Italian bondage into which Hitler had "reluctantly" allowed her to fall, and was acclaimed the third *Führerstaat* in Europe (after Germany and Spain). Albania's independence was guaranteed by the "Führer" and an assurance was given to Greece that Germany had not the slightest intention of infringing her national independence as Italy had done. Economic collaboration still remained in the foreground while political questions were discreetly shelved. The slogan of Funk (Reichsminister for Economics) was enthusiastically taken up: the collaboration of the national European economies meant a "working arrangement (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) between equal partners."

IV.—The European Family of Nations

The line of equality was further strengthened by Hitler in his commemoration of the eleventh anniversary of his accession to power (January 30th, 1944). In this speech he coined the phrase the "European Family of Nations" (*die europäische Völkerfamilie*), which he represented as happily united under National Socialist guidance and leadership. Hitler explained the tasks

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* These ideas were expounded in a book by Werner Daitz, "The New Europe," Berlin, 1941, extracts reprinted in the periodical: "Germany and You," vol. 10, October, 1942.

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accomplished in the Nazi programme purely as steps taken on behalf of Europe in preparation for an inevitable struggle. Even the seizure of foreign territories was described, not as the acquisition of *Lebensraum* for Germans, but as the unification of all those countries inhabited by Germans, or belonging for more than a thousand years to the German Reich, and representing areas which had become indispensable for the preservation of the Reich from an economic viewpoint. Twenty years earlier, in "*Mein Kampf*," he had defined these areas as indispensable for the "military and political defence" of the Reich.

The new slogan was taken up immediately, and first and foremost by the indefatigable promoter of alternatives to the Atlantic Charter, the above-mentioned *Grossraum* theorist, Werner Daitz.* Three days after Hitler's speech he published an article that distinguished between three groups of Europeans; those who see in Europe merely a geo-political unit, a space-unit from which certain politically formative forces radiate; those who seek European collaboration as an economic and political necessity for merely utilitarian purposes; and those "real Europeans" who see Europe as a dynamic and moral entity (*eine lebensgesetzliche und damit sittliche Ganzheit*), bound together by biological "laws." Daitz, while professing himself an adherent of the third group, emphasises, strangely enough, that this group is still very small, though it is led by none other than Adolf Hitler. Daitz has persisted in this attack on both the "imperialist" geo-politicians of the Haushofer type and the "nakedly utilitarian" *Grossraum* theorists of the industrial group ever since Hitler's speech. "For two decades," said Daitz, "we (*i.e.*, apparently Hitler, himself and the small group around them) have fought for Europe as a moral idea (*sittliche Idee*)." Delving into metaphysics he compares the European family of nations with the solar system, and sees it, in spite of its differentiation into individual peoples, as a god-given dynamic entity. Consequently he appeals to these nations to "realise themselves once more as a family of nations in order to regain their 'biological entity'."*

The significance of this view, which claims to be based on Hitler's authority, is clear. Since the beginning of 1944 the minds of the Germans were directed by their propagandists from east to west. "The leadership of the Reich in the new Europe" said Daitz in March, "will consist not only in the political consolidation of the forces of Greater Germany, but primarily in developing a European ideology."† This new ideology has for a time replaced the power-politics of the geo-politicians and the profit-making attitude of heavy industry in an attempt to rally the European nations against invasion from the West. "Whether we want it or not," says an article in a Mannheim paper, May 10th, 1944, "we have become Europe's people. Separation is impossible, as impossible for us as for others."‡

The following chapters attempt to show the working of the "New Order" from the first German aggression of March, 1938, to the re-entry of France by the Allied armies in June, 1944.

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* Chief of the Foreign Political Office of the Reich Leadership of the NSDAP, Daitz was born in 1884.

* The article "*Vaterland und Europa*" appeared in "*Westfälische Landeszeitung*" of February 2nd, 1944. Also numerous articles in "*Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*" on "*Biologische Grundgesetzender Grossraumbildung und Grossraumpolitik*."

† In "*Die Völkerfamilie, Lübecker Zeitung*," March 14th, 1944. Meanwhile the industrialists' group has not been deterred, as shown by an article, "*Grossraumwirtschaft-eine Realität*," in "*Dei deutsche Volkswirtschaft*," March 1st, 1944.

‡ "*Das Hakenkreuzbanner*," Mannheim, October 5th, 1944. "*Das Reich*" of May 15th, in an article "*Europas' Vorfrage*," supplies the "Strength through Fear" motive to the occupied countries. Hitler's slogan of 1924 has been turned into "Germany will either live and lead Europe, or Europe will perish in slavery—Bolshevist or Plutocratic, or both."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

1. Duncan Wilson, "Germany's 'New Order'," Oxford Pamphlet No. 46, 1941. (Shows the theory of the "New Order" in its various aspects.)

2. Derwent Whittlesey, "German Strategy of World Conquest," F. E. Robinson, London, 1944. (29 maps and diagrams.) (This book deals mainly with Haushofer's geo-political theories, tracing them back to the ideas of the Pan German League and shows its practical application.)

3. Werner Best, "*Grossraum und Grossraumverwaltung, Zeitschrift für Politik*," June, 1942. (This is the basic programme for the practical execution of the "New Order" in which the sentence occurs: "The destruction of foreign nationhood does not contradict the laws of life if it is carried out with absolute completeness."

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CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NAZI EUROPE

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I.—Different Types of Nazi Administration

Nazi administration of Europe has by no means been built up on uniform lines. On the contrary, many different patterns have been devised, and it is not always clear for which reasons any particular pattern has been chosen. A whole literature has been devoted to defining the constitutional or, as it is frequently called, " international " legal position of the Reich and its appendages. The most revealing treatise in this respect is that by Hans Peter Ipsen published in the " *Brüsseler Zeitung*," April 4th, 1943. According to Ipsen, Nazi-ruled Europe is divided into two sub-sections (*a*) the Inner Reich (*Binnenreich*) and (*b*) the External Reich Administration (*Reichsaussenverwaltung*).

The *Binnenreich* consists of Germany Proper or *das Altreich* (as Germany before the annexation of Austria used to be called by the Nazis) and of certain annexed territories in the east, south and west. According to Ipsen the Internal Reich Administration (*Reichsbinnenverwaltung*) covers the geographical area of the Reich in this sense ; it has an overwhelmingly Reich German population, is subject to the Reich Law proper and is subdivided into the usual regional administrative units (*Reichmittelbezirke*), such as *Länder, Reichsgaue* and Prussian Provinces.

The External Reich Administration covers all those areas beyond the *Binnenreich* which come under Reich sovereignity. Ipsen sub-divides the External Reich Administration into three parts :—

I.—Territories which are under German sovereignty by virtue of occupation, *i.e.*, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, which are under German civil administration, and France, Belgium, Serbia and Greece, which are under German military administration.

II.—Territories which have " already developed from the state of military administration to that of civil incorporation. Their final incorporation only requires to be formally decreed as it is almost complete *de facto*. They are (*a*) the occupied territories in the east which were divided into two Reich Commissariats (*Ostland* and *Ukraine*) and are administered by a territorial ministry in Berlin under Alfred Rosenberg ; (*b*) six territories, each of which has been placed under a Chief of Civil Administration. They are all under German sovereignty according to the law of occupation, but are ear-marked for annexation. These comprise Alsace, Lorraine, Luxembourg, Southern Styria, Upper Carniola (the last two are part of Yugoslav Slovenia) and Bialystok.

III.—The appended countries or *Nebenländer, i.e.*, the " Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia " which " legally belongs to the Reich area, but has special autonomous status," and the so-called " General Government " (Central Poland) which also constitutes a Reich area with a special statute *de facto* but not *de jure*.

The *Binnenreich* plus II (*b*) and III are often called " Greater Germany " or " *Das Grossdeutsche Reich*," its terms of reference, however, are subject to frequent change. In very official documents " Greater Germany " applies only to Ipsen's *Binnenreich*. Semi-official maps and books on the so-called Reich constitution add the territories under II (*b*) and the " Protectorate." Others include the " General Government " with or without a dividing line. On this basis the following division of the territories acquired after March 11th, 1938, is suggested :—

I.—Territories incorporated by decree.

II.—Virtually incorporated territories (*i.e.*, those placed under a Chief of Civil Administration).

III.—" Appended " territories.

IV.—Occupied territories—
(*a*) Under Civil Administration.

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(*b*) Under purely Military Administration.

(*c*) The two Reich Commissariats.

V.—The Satellite States.

II.—The Stages of Nazi Expansion

A rapid survey of the different stages of German expansion will show the guiding principles upon which the new administration was gradually built up.

1. *Pre-War Annexations*, 1938/39

By the spring of 1939, Hitler had at his disposal new territories with an area of 164,000 sq. km. and with almost 18,000,000 inhabitants, *i.e.*, he had enlarged the Reich of 1937 by a good third and its population by more than a quarter. He disposed of these territories in three different ways. Some of them he merely incorporated into existing administrative units of the Reich, *e.g.*, the *Memelland* into the Prussian Province of East Prussia, the small district of Hlučin (ceded to Czechoslovakia in 1919) into the *Landkreis* Ratibor of the Prussian Province of Upper Silesia; and three West-Bohemian districts into the *Land* Bavaria. The Czechoslavak districts adjacent to Austria were incorporated as five *Landkreise* respectively into Upper and Lower Austria.

(i) *Austria and " Sudetenland "*

Besides these territorial reshuffles, a new administrative form was created, the *Reichsgau*, which was to be a new regional unit alongside the *Länder* and the Prussian Provinces. At its head stands the Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*), who at the same time is also the *Gauleiter* of the Party Gau, the boundaries of which coincide with the new *Reichsgaue*. The Reich Governor is responsible to the Reich Minister of the Interior in Berlin, but is otherwise the sole leading administrator of the territory under his command. In this his position differs from that of the Reich Governors installed in the *Länder* in 1933, whose function is mainly to supervise the governments of the *Länder* to which they are attached (in some cases they supervise several *Länder*). The new *Reichsgau* solution was most convenient not only from the administrative point of view, but also from the point of view of co-ordination and germanisation.

The new *Reichsgau* administration was applied to Austria and the remainder of the Sudeten territories in the spring of 1939. Territory within Austria was reshuffled, the term " Ostmark," used since March, 1938, for the *Land* Austria, was abolished, Seyss-Inquart, the Reich Governor of the " Ostmark," was pensioned off for the time being, and the whole territory re-divided into seven *Reichsgaue*, all under their separate Reich Governors, two of whom (Schirach, Vienna, and Scheel, Salzburg) were imported from Germany. In order to obliterate the last vestige of the old Austrian tradition, Upper and Lower Austria were renamed Upper and Lower Danube. Vienna ceased to be the centre of Austria and was granted as a separate *Reichsgau*, a status similar to that of Hamburg and Bremen as *Länder*, or of Berlin as a Prussian Province.

The eighth new *Reichsgau* was the " Sudetenland " with Henlein as Reich Governor in the new capital Liberec (Reichenberg). Unlike the Austrian *Reichsgaue*[*], the " Sudetenland " was subdivided into three *Regierungsbezirke* on the model of the Prussian units of the same name. *Stadt-* and *Landkreise* were formed in all the new *Reichsgaue* as the lowest administrative units, and German administrative and judicial practice introduced everywhere.

(ii) *The " Protectorate "*

Apart from incorporation and the formation of *Reichsgaue*, a third administrative form was devised for post-Munich Czechoslovakia after the coup of March 15th, 1939. Slovakia was detached and, under an autonomous government, was made the first satellite state; a special status was granted to the German ethnic group (*Volksgruppe*) domiciled there and a treaty of alliance with Germany allowed the latter to keep garrisons in various places. Carpatho-Russia was occupied by Hungary. The remaining provinces of Bohemia amd Moravia were declared a German *Protektorat*. The proclamation of March 16th, 1939, expressly laid down that these provinces " belong henceforth to the territory of the Greater German Reich and enter into its protection.[*] The 250,000 Germans living among the 7,400,000 Czechs were granted special privileges such as Reich nationality and the right to be tried by German courts only. While foreign affairs are under German direction and the Ministry of War was abolished, " autonomy " was granted in domestic affairs to a Czech government which set up its own ministries and internal regional administration and even appointed a State President. But even within this autonomous government, the important Ministry of Economics and Labour is led by a Reich German, named Walter Bertsch. In addition to the President and his Cabinet, however, a *Reichsprotektor* was installed in Prague, who supervised, until August, 1943, all activities, whether central or regional, of the " autonomous " government. Freiherr von Neurath was Reich Protector until he went on " leave of absence " in September, 1941; the notorious Heydrich became acting protector, whose reign of terror ended in his assassination in May of the following year. Heydrich was succeeded as acting Protector by Daluege, another Police Chief[†] whose régime was no less harsh. A complete change of organisation coincided with the dismissal of Daluege, the official resignation of Neurath, and the installation in Prague of the former Reich Minister of the Interior, Wilhelm Frick on October 14th, 1943. At the same time, K. H. Frank, a Sudeten German and early collaborator of Henlein, since 1939 Deputy Protector, Secretary of State for Security and Senior SS and Police Leader, as which he had all the time wielded enormous power, became German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia with the rank of Reich Minister. This reorganisation changed the position of the Reich Protector. The latter is now only the " representative of the Leader in his capacity as Head of the State." Frank, however, will, in Frick's own words, " in the further fulfilment of his work of political leadership in the Protectorate, in future be in charge of government affairs connected with the safeguarding of the interests of the Reich *on his own responsibility*."[‡] This shows that the Reich Protector has become a mere figurehead, whose

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[*] Whenever the Austrian Reichsgaue are referred to as a whole, they are termed " *Alpen- und Donaugaue*."

[*] Or, as the chief quisling, Col. Moravec, put it in December, 1942: " Czech policy must always be based on the fact that the Czechs are members of the Greater German Reich. Bohemia and Moravia are to-day part of the Reich as are, for instance, Bavaria and Saxony. The Czechs are subjects of the Reich, which is more than if they were mere allies."

[†] Heydrich was Supreme Chief to the Reich Security Police and Gestapo, Daluege Supreme Chief to the Reich Uniformed Police.

[‡] The same phraseology was used in 1940 to define the responsibilities of the Reich Commissioners for Norway and Holland.

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position corresponds to that of the Czech "President of State," Hacha. The real power is now vested in the German Minister of State, who directs all affairs and, as Reich Minister and member of the Reich Cabinet, is the Reich Protector's equal. Frank's power was further enhanced when in February, 1944, he was made Senior SS and Police Leader of *Reichsgau* "Sudetenland" as well.

Accordingly, a German Ministry of State was set up on November 4th, 1943. This Ministry with its nine departments corresponds exactly to the Czech "autonomous" government departments and the task of Frank departments is in most cases the supervision of the corresponding "autonomous" departments. On the regional level, the two provinces have German Vice-Presidents. Seven *Oberlandrat-Inspekteure* supervise the larger districts, the five big towns have German mayors and Police Presidents; many towns have German Commissioners, and forty out of sixty-nine Czech rural districts (*Okresy*) have German District Chiefs. This shows that no relaxation of the grip on Czech territory has occurred; indeed, it rather indicates that the Reich authorities are of the opinion that the terror régime has been effective, and Frank, himself an *SS Obergruppenführer*, is intended to follow the path set by Heydrich and Daluege. How closely German administration is interlocked with Czech administration, and how farcical the term "autonomous" government is in reality, may be gathered from the accompanying chart. This interlocking has in fact been more thorough in Czech territory than in places such as Norway and Holland. The reason is that in the latter territories domestic and local government could be left to indigenous fascist parties and formations. The behaviour of the Czech government may have resulted in their being castigated as quislings, but neither they nor the Germans have been able to build up a Czech fascist organisation which, however small, was prepared to support a quisling government by terrorising the people.

These three different systems—annexation to form part of existing administrative units, incorporation by means of forming *Reichsgaue*, the attachment of territory to the Reich by means of a "Protectorate"—were applied with certain variations after war had broken out and further large territories were devoured by Germany.

2. *The First Thrust to the East (Dismemberment of Poland)*

The Polish campaign in September, 1939, ended with a triumph of German arms which was denied complete success only by crossing of the Polish frontiers by Russian troops on September 18th. Although Warsaw held out against the Germans until September 27th, the fortess of Hele until as late as October 2nd, and large numbers of troops until December, the fate of the Polish Republic was temporarily sealed. A demarcation line was agreed upon in a treaty signed between Germany and Soviet Russia in Moscow on September 29th. Russia occupied the seven eastern *Voievodships* (Provinces), which covered an area of 48 per cent. of the Polish Republic and were inhabited by 13 million people or 37 per cent. of the total population. The Russians obtained the towns of Bialystok, Brest-Litowsk, Przemysl and Lwow, and the rich oilfields of Eastern Galicia.

Central and Western Poland, which fell to the Germans, contained almost 190,000 sq. kms. and 22·5 million inhabitans, *i.e.*, considerably more than the spoils of Germany's pre-war annexations. The Germans dealt with it in precisely the same way as before: by annexation to existing units, by the formation of new *Reichsgaue* and by the creation of a "Protectorate."

In his annexations, Hitler remained faithful to the programme laid down in "*Mein Kampf*" by expanding far beyond the former Imperial boundaries. East Prussia received an especially large addition. In the East, the district of Suwalki was included in the *Regierungsbezirk* Gumbinnen, and *Regierungsbezirk* Allenstein received the small area of Dzialdowo (Soldau) which had been ceded to Poland in 1919. Further south a new *Regierungsbezirk*, Ciechanow, was formed from parts of the *Voievodship* of Warsaw with the Vistula as its southern and the Narew as its eastern frontiers. Apart from a handful of Reich Germans, the million new East Prussians were of purely Polish stock.

The Silesian boundaries of Imperial days also were considerably enlarged, by extending the Prussian Province of Upper Silesia to the south as far as the foothills of the Carpathians—including, besides the whole coal and iron basin of south-western Poland, the coal mining districts of Tesin (Teschen) and parts of the *Voievodships* of Kracow and Kielce. The capital of Upper Silesia was transferred from Oppeln to the Polish town of Katowice. Of a population of 1·6 million thus included in Upper Silesia not more than 120,000 were of German stock.

(i) *The Eastern Reichsgaue*

Between the reorganised Prussian provinces of East Prussia and Upper Silesia, two new *Reichsgaue* were formed. The one *Wartheland* consisted of purely Polish territory and—again far exceeding the boundaries of the former Imperial Province of Posen (Poznan)*—included almost the whole of the *Voievodship* of Lodz with its rich textile and iron industries, and parts of the *Voievodship* of Warsaw. The new *Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen* consisted of the area of the Free Town of Danzig and the *Voievodship* of Pomorze; in addition, the former *Regierungsbezirk* Marienwerder, with the towns of Elbing and Marienburg, was detached from East Prussia and incorporated in the *Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen*, thus restoring the eastern and southern frontiers of the former Imperial Province of West Prussia.† Each of these two new *Reichsgaue* has been subdivided into three *Regierungsbezirke*. Of the close on 10 million inhabitants thus transferred to the Reich (Danzig excluded) about 653,000 or 6·2 per cent. were of German stock on August 31st, 1939.

(ii) *The "General Government"*

The remainder of Western Poland, *i.e.*, parts of the *Voievodships* of Warsaw, Kielce and Cracow and the whole of Lublin were formed into a "General Government of Poland" at first destined to be a dumping ground for the remaining Poles and those Poles and Jews who were expelled from the annexed territories. This second "Prorectorate" was founded on October 12th, 1939, by "Führer Decree," but it differs from the form given to Bohemia-Moravia in that it is administered completely by German authorities, and is considered *Ausland*, being separated from the Greater German Reich by customs, currency and police

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* The Province of Poznan, as constituted before 1918, became part of Prussia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

† West Prussia without Danzig and the Warta area became Prussian in 1772 (First Polish Partition); Danzig and the Warta area were added in 1793 (Second Partition).

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barriers. The exclusively German character of the administration is, however, largely accounted for by the refusal of such prominent Poles as have been approached from time to time (*e.g.*, in 1939 and again in 1941), to serve as quislings under the Germans.

At the head of the "Government General" (the adjective Polish was soon dropped) is the Governor General with his seat in Cracow. He is appointed by, and directly responsible to, Hitler. Under him is the Government consisting of a Secretary and an Under-Secretary of State, and the heads of twelve central departments, a huge and elaborate aministrative machinery. On the regional level, the territory is administered by the Governors (*Gouverneure*) of the four (since 1941, five) districts (*Distrikte*) each roughly corresponding to a *Regierungsbezirk*, and divided into 54 *Kreis-* and 7 *Stadthauptmannschaften*, roughly corresponding to *Land-* and *Stadkreise* but the former covering much larger areas. Only on the lowest level are there Polish officials appointed by the Germans, *i.e.*, mayors (*Stadtbürgermeister*)—though these are frequently supervised by a German Town Commissar—and village headmen (*Schulzen*) supervised by German *Landkommissare*. Powerful German police forces, agricultural leaders and labour trustees aid in keeping order and exploiting the country.

The status of the "Government General" has always been something of a puzzle. It is usually referred to as a "*Nebenland des deutschen Reiches*," and one definition referred to it as "not a State, Colony, Dominion or Protectorate, but the Reich's own land in the East." As the Reich's own *Land* (*reichseignes Land*), it was also referred to in the "*Krakauer Zeitung*" of October 25th, 1942, when it was described as "a State form which is adjunct (*zugeordnet*) to the Reich, but which has its own government and administrative structure." However this may be, the Governor General, K. H. Frank, has seen to it during five years of oppressive rule that a "*Nebenland*" of the Reich is something worse than a colony even in the most primitive periods of colonisation.

3. *The Thrust North and West* (*Spring and Summer*, 1940)

(i) *The Campaigns*

On April 9th, 1940, Germany invaded Denmark where she met with little resistance, and Norway where she had to wage a three week's campaign against the Norwegian army, which was soon aided by an allied expeditionary force. By May 2nd the Allies had to evacuate Southern and Central Norway; Northern Norway was given up on June 16th, as the summer campaign in the west had taken a catastrophic turn.

This campaign started on May 9th with the invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. Luxembourg was overrun without difficulty. The Dutch army after tenacious resistance surrendered on May 14th after the Queen and the Government had left the country. A thrust into north-western France led to a breakthrough towards the Aisne and to the seizure of the channel ports of Boulogne and Calais. King Leopold of the Belgians surrendered with his army on May 28th and became a prisoner of war; his government left the country, eventually arriving in England. Northern France was in German hands after the withdrawal of the B.E.F. from Dunkirk on June 4th, 1940. The German armies now turned south towards the Seine, captured Paris on June 14th and thrust towards the Loire and South-East where they reached the Swiss border near Besançon on the 17th, thus enveloping and cutting off the Maginot line. On the same day, Marshal Pétain, French Premier since the previous night, announced the news of France's surrender, having already sued for an armistice. The armistice between France and Germany was signed on the 22nd, that between France and Italy on the 24th. Italy having entered the war on June 10th.

Six more countries lay at Hitler's mercy: Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France, the whole seaboard of the Eastern Atlantic from the North Cape to the Bay of Biscay. To each of them different treatment was meted out.

(ii) *Denmark* was from April 9th, 1940, to August 29th, 1943, what the Germans were prone to call a "model protectorate." The German government had declared on the day of invasion that it had no intention of violating the integrity of Danish territory or the political independence of the kingdom, and King Christian took Hitler at his word. Government and parliament continued to function, internal and judicial administration was in the hands of the Danish authorities, even the Danish Army remained in existence though it was confined to special areas. The country itself was occupied by German troops and ceased to have any say in foreign affairs. The German Foreign Office was represented by a Plenipotentiary.

The Danish people watched jealously over its prerogatives without cherishing any illusions as to the real state of affairs. Nazi attempts to boost a Danish Nazi Party failed completely; the foundation of a Danish Free Corps, the Schalburg Corps, to assist in the attack on Russia met with passive resistance; the formation of a pro-Nazi government under Scavenius in November 1942, and the latter's adherence to the anti-Comintern pact evoked strong resentment. The Danes became more and more conscious of the fact that the German Plenipotentiary was the real ruler of the country and that its economic resources were being mercilessly exploited for German ends. Resistance and sabotage grew, and at the end of August, 1943, the status of "model protectorate" was ended. The country was placed under martial law with the German military commander in charge, the Gestapo took over jurisdiction, the Danish Army was disbanded, the Government resigned and Denmark became virtually a country under German military and Gestapo administration.

(iii) In *Norway*, a new type of administration was created. By a decree of April 24th, 1940, Hitler installed the Nazi Gauleiter of Essen and *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province, Josef Terboven as "Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories." He was to be the guardian of the interests of the Reich and was vested with supreme civil authority; in this capacity he is directly responsible to Hitler, and subject to the latter's instructions and orders as to general policy. He has the right to issue orders with the force of law and may employ members of the German Police Forces for their enforcement. The Commander of the German Forces in Norway is vested with supreme military authority and is responsible for the military security of the country. As far as his orders relate to the domain of civil administration, they are enforced by the Reich Commissioner exclusively. Despite the fact that its sphere of activities is in Norway, the Reich Commissariat is a "Supreme Reich authority" equal in rank to a Reich Ministry.

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From the beginning, the Nazi authorities tried to enlist the aid of a native Fascist movement led by Major Vidkun Quisling who had done so much to facilitate the invasion. Quisling's first " autonomous " government, however, lasted only a few days owing to the unanimous contempt and resistance it provoked among the Norwegian population. The German authorities were compelled to forbid the formation or activities of any parties save Quisling's *Nasjonal Samling* and to lend him their active support in building up a party system, with terror organisations on Nazi lines. It was thus possible by gradual stages to install a second autonomous government with Quisling as Minister President on February 1st, 1942. Since then, the status of Norway resembles in many respects that of the " Protectorate " of Bohemia-Moravia.

(iv) Precisely the same system—with one slight variation—was introduced in *Holland*, where by a decree of May 18th, 1940, a " Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Netherlands Territories " was installed, having the same powers and the same relationship to the Military Commander as his counterpart in Norway. Seyss-Inquart, notorious for his share in the annexation of Austria, became Reich Commissioner. He had been deputy Governor General of Poland since October, 1939. He assumed by proclamation all rights previously vested in the Crown and the Ministers as well as the functions of parliament (including legislation). In August, 1940, he assumed power to appoint and dismiss State officials.

As distinct from Norway, the Reich Commissioner for Holland governs by a so-called " headless government," composed of the permanent Secretaries-General of the former Dutch ministries. These Secretaries-General (the Dutch equivalent of English Under-Secretaries of State) had been left in the country under the *Landoorlogreglement* (Queen's regulations in case of land-warfare) to remain at their posts and carry on their duties as far as this did not involve actual assistance to the enemy. But they had no authority to change existing laws and institutions or to assist in making such changes. Seyss-Inquart replaced those who refused to exceed their original competence by Dutch Nazis, the most notorious being Rost van Tonningen, Secretary General of Finance and later also of Economics. The Dutch " headless government " is supervised by members of the staff of the Reich Commissioner, and special German commissioners are appointed for the supervision of regional administration in the provinces and large towns. Local self-government has been completely changed in substance by the introduction of a new system based upon the German Municipal Act of 1935. For regional and local government, the Reich Commissioner is supported by the Dutch quisling Alfred Mussert, whose *National Socialist Beweging* has built up the usual terror organisations and tries to instil Nazi ideology into the Dutch people. Mussert's frequent attempts to form an " autonomous " Dutch government on Quisling's lines have met with no response from the German authorities, but he was allowed to set up a " Secretariate of State of the NSB " on February 1st, 1943.

(v) *Belgium* was regarded as a territory of primary strategic importance in view of its proximity to the English coast and therefore placed under purely military administration. The area governed by the Military Commander until July, 1944, excluded the territory of Eupen-Malmédy (see below), but included the two French departments of Pas de Calais and Nord. Their inclusion was not only of military significance, but, as they comprise territories partly inhabited by Flemings, it has a political importance also. Economically, they are a direct continuation of the Belgian industrial areas of Hainault and Flanders.

The Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France had a special division called the Military Administration (*Militärverwaltung*), which was divided into an Executive, an Administrative and an Economic Section. The first dealt with political matters, the second with all administrative affairs, including municipal administration, police and security, communications, press, radio, justice, finance, education and social policy. Each of the district military commands (*Oberfeldkommandanturen*) of which Belgium has four, had a special section for civil affairs.

Central, regional and local civil affairs were as in Holland—administered by a " headless government," its Secretaries-General being those who stayed in Belgium as permanent heads of the Ministries after the government had left the country. Of the original fourteen, eight have been replaced, and four departments have been abolished. The Secretaries-General were supervised by officers of the respective sections of the German military administration, and special German Commissioners have been appointed to supervise the municipal administration of the three largest towns, Brussels, Antwerp and Liége. The German authorities governed the country by means of ordinances issued by the Military Commander ; these have the force of law and override all national laws. The German penal code is in force and applies to those offences which are dealt with by the German military courts.

As during the First World War, the Germans have fostered the division that exists in the country between Flemings and Walloons, and have been anxious to play them off against each other, generally, though not always, favouring the Flemings whom they regard as " nordics."* Both Flemings and Walloons have established with German aid their own brand of Fascist organisation and tried to spread Nazi ideology, though without making much headway among the population. Their share in regional and local government is, however, considerable, owing to German protection, and several Secretaries-General of their political colour have been appointed by the occupying power.

The system of military administration was suddenly changed after the invasion of France by Allied forces. By a " Führer " decree, dated July 13th, 1944, the system so far prevailing was replaced by a civil administration headed by a *Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete von Belgien und Nordfrankreich.* The *Militärbefehlshaber* General von Falkenhausen, who had governed the area since 1940 was dismissed and the new post of *Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber in Belgien und Nordfrankreich* eventually combined with that of Senior SS and Police Leader, held by SS-*Gruppenführer* Jungklaus (announced on August 14th, 1944). A special Commissioner has been appointed for the two northern French departments, who is immediately responsible to the Reich Commissioner.

The decree means that at this late date the area of Belgium and Northern France has been completely assimilated to the type of administration

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* The Walloons were given much publicity in the beginning of 1944 after their leader Leon Degrelle had been evacuated with parts of the Walloon SS legion from the Koniev pocket.

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evolved in Norway and Holland. It also means that the influence of the Party has become paramount, especially as the new Reich Commissioner is the Leader of the Party Gau Cologne-Aachen which borders on Belgium. The former Chief of Military Administration, Eggert Reeder, who as a high SS leader had been in close contact with Himmler during the past four years, has become Deputy Reich Commissioner, and Richard Jungklaus, who, with the rank of SS-*Gruppenführer* was Himmler's plenipotentiary for security questions, has been appointed Senior SS and Police Leader.

(vi) *France* is the only country at war with Germany which has concluded a treaty with Hitler's Government. Article 2 of the Armistice of June 22nd, 1940, provided for the division of France into two zones—to " safeguard the interests of the Reich." The zone, including the whole of northern and central France, and a broad belt running parallel to the Bay of Biscay and including Bordeaux, was to be occupied by German forces. The remainder (40 per cent. of the mainland) was left free to the " autonomous " government of France which transferred its seat to Vichy. Article 3 provided that in the districts to be occupied, the German Reich should have all the rights of an occupying power " excluding the administration of the country and without interference with the régime."

As in Belgium, the supervision of civil affairs in the French occupied territories (with the exception of the two northern and the three eastern departments) is carried out by the administrative section (*Verwaltungsstab*) of the Military Commander, the chief division of which is that for Economic Affairs. Under him are five administrative units (*Verwaltungsbezirke*), equivalent to the *Oberfeldkommandanturen* in Belgium. Local administration is carried out by the civil affairs officers attached to the *Feld- Kreis-* and *Ortskommandanturen*, the area of which corresponds to the usual French administrative units, *département, arrondissement* and *commune*. Although supervision only is exercised by these authorities, they have the right to veto appointments of French Prefects, sub-Prefects and Mayors. Paris itself is under a German Commissioner who is responsible for the civil, military and economic administration of the city. The commanders of the respective *Kommandanturen* have also the right of police jurisdiction in their areas, and French laws and decrees have to be submitted to them before they are declared valid in the occupied zone. Both the military commander and the Senior SS and Police Leader in France have issued a host of ordinances and orders in addition to the French laws and decrees issued by Vichy. In general, the German method has been to control at the top and to supervise on the lower levels, but to take no active part in the detailed administration of the country. To induce regular compliance with their wishes, most of the administrative key positions are held by persons approved by them. For this purpose, the German Foreign Office has accredited to the Military Commander in Paris, a Plenipotentiary who holds the title of Ambassador and is aided by a Minister, accredited to Vichy.

The responsibility for the organised exploitation of France in the interests of the Reich itself does not lie with the military administration, although as the executive branch it must approve and enforce the measures taken. This exploitation is supervised by the *Wehrwirtschafts-* and *Rüstungsstab*, which is subject to orders from Reich Minister Speer; it has five Armament Inspectorates and a special office for industrial delivery, in addition to various other sections. Göring, as the Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan, supervises the numerous organisations of German industry and banking in France and has installed a Central Order Office (*Zentralauftragsstelle*—ZAST) in Paris. In addition, the Armistice Commission exercises a great influence on French economic affairs. Its central office is in Wiesbaden, but there is a German economic delegation of the Franco-German Armistice Commission in Paris, which controls a number of local commissions.

Since the occupation of the southern zone on November 11th, 1942, the *Oberfeldkommandant* Lille has become *Kommandant Heeresgebiet Südfrankreich* with his H.Q. in Lyons, and is most probably subordinate to the Military Commander of France. Chief liaison staffs in departments, and liaison staffs (*Verbindungstäbe*) in *arrondissements*, corresponding to the civil affairs sections of the *Feld-* and *Kreiskommandanturen*, serve as intermediaries between German troops and French authorities, but it is probable that their powers are less extensive than in the northern zone.

In substance, there is little difference between the Vichy government and other " autonomous " governments, *e.g.*, in Prague and Oslo. Vichy nominally directs the country, but in reality the German administrative system dominates it both directly and indirectly.

(vii) Under the Military Commander of France have also been placed the *Channel Islands* to which (by a decree of August 27th, 1940) all general orders issued by the former are applicable. The islands form, for purposes of military administration, a *Feldkommandantur*, with a German officer of the rank of Colonel at its head, assisted by a chief civil affairs officer who is *Verwaltungsgruppenleiter* with the rank of *Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat*. Otherwise, the Germans pride themselves of having left the traditional administration completely intact according to the regulations of the Geneva Convention, though they have " incorporated the islands into the German-European economic system." Over 30,000 islanders fled to the United Kingdom, 2,000 were deported to Germany.*

(viii) *Eupen-Malmédy, Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine*

Whilst Germany did not restore her former Imperial frontiers in the north (for South Jutland, ceded to Denmark after a plebiscite in 1920, remained untouched even by more recent developments), a different attitude was adopted in the west.

The territory of *Eupen, Malmédy* and *Moresnet*, ceded to Belgium by virtue of the Versailles Treaty, was incorporated into Germany by a decree of May 18th, 1940. It was organised into two *Landkreise* and became part of the *Regierungsbezirk* Aachen of the Prussian Rhine-Province.

A different treatment was meted out to *Luxembourg* and the French departments of *Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin* and *Moselle*, where a new form of administration was set up.

The Grand Duchy of *Luxembourg*, which arose in its present form in 1839, was granted special international status by the Treaty of London, 1867. By this treaty all interested powers (Great Britain, France and Prussia) pledged themselves to guarantee the neutrality and independence of the country. Luxembourg had a customs union with

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* See the article by the Chief Civil Affairs officer Landrat Dr. Caspar on " German Administration in the Channel Islands " in " *Deutsche Verwaltung* " of June 15th, 1943, and " The Channel Islands " in " *The Times* " of August 9th, 1944.

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the German Reich until 1919, and with Belgium after 1920. During the first World War, Luxembourg was treated as occupied territory, but this was not so after the second invasion. A decree of August 2nd, 1940, placed the country under German civil administration. Six days later, another "Führer decree" created the office of *Chef der Zivilverwaltung* not only for *Luxembourg*, but also independently for each of the two adjacent French territories, *Alsace* and *Lorraine*. These Chiefs of Civil Administration, who are directly responsible to Hitler, have the task of preparing the respective territories for final annexation. Up to the present, however, the administration of these areas has still been kept separate from that of the adjacent German territories, although they have been merged with them in many other respects. Germanisation and co-ordination with the rest of the Reich have been carried out very thoroughly; in Alsace the Germans used for this purpose the autonomist movement, in Luxembourg a *Volksdeutsche Bewegung* which had sprung up during the thirties. In Lorraine the Chief of Civil Administration claimed to have expelled all French-speaking inhabitants from the territory by December, 1940.

There was no provision for the incorporation into the Reich of Alsace and Lorraine in any form in the armistice terms, but it has been maintained that the Pétain Government had accepted such incorporation as one of the secret clauses of the armistice.*

Geographically a restoration of the former *Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen* has been purposely avoided. Instead, the administration of Alsace and Lorraine has been gradually integrated with that of adjacent German units. Luxembourg is ruled by Gustav Simon, the Leader of the Party Gau *Moselland* (comprising the *Reigerungsbezirke* Trier and Koblenz), and was intended to become part of the Rhine Province; the system of combining several parishes into an *Amtsbürgermeisterei*, long known in the Rhine Province, has also been introduced into Luxembourg. Department Moselle (Lorraine) is administered by the Leader of the Party Gau *Westmark*, comprising the Saar territory and the Palatinate, and was destined to become part of Reichsgau *Westmark*. It is worth noting that Bürckel, who is *Gauleiter* and *Reichsstatthalter* of *Westmark* and Chief of Civil Administration for Lorraine, administers the latter territory from Saarbrücken. Haut and Bas Rhin (Alsace) are administered by Robert Wagner, the Leader of the Party Gau Baden and *Reichsstatthalter* of *Land* Baden, but his offices as Chief of Civil Administration are in Strasbourg, where the Deputy Gauleiter, a former Alsatian autonomist, is in control. The most important departments are managed by the corresponding Ministers of *Land* Baden, and the fact that the Alsatian railways are administered by the *Reichsbahndirektion* Karlsruhe, the postal services by the *Reichspostdirektion* Karlsruhe,—to give only two examples out of many—shows the close integration with the *Land* Baden, with which Alsace was destined to be united. Luxembourg, Lorraine and Alsace have already been merged with the adjacent Party Gaue (Moselland, Westmark and Baden respectively), and subdivided into *Land-* and *Stadkreise*; the German Municipal Act, conscription, and many other measures of co-ordination, have already been introduced. The population of all three territories has stoutly resisted these measures of germanisation.

4. *The Thrust South-East (Spring, 1941)*

(i) *The Satellites and the Campaigns*

The domination of the Balkan peninsula had been carefully prepared from 1933 onwards. Economic penetration carried out by the ingenious Dr. Schacht had made all the Balkan countries dependent on Germany by 1938. With Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia under German sway, pressure upon the South-East became overwhelming. In the political field, the jealousies of the different countries were cleverly exploited. Hungarian revisionism was championed by Germany, and Hungary was drawn into the Axis camp by allowing her a share in the spoil of Czechoslovakia: she was given Southern Slovakia and Southern Carpatho-Russia by the first Vienna Award of November 2nd, 1938, and seized the remainder of Carpatho-Russia in March, 1939.

Rumania, once a member of the Little Entente, with boundaries guaranteed by Britain since April, 1939, was partitioned in 1940. She was forced first to cede Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina to Russia (June, 1940), and then Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria (mid-August). When a serious conflict arose between Rumania and Hungary, the Axis partners insisted on arbitration and Hungary was given northern and north-eastern Transylvania by the Second Vienna Award of August 30th, 1940. These setbacks led to a change of régime in Rumania. King Carol abdicated and Marshal Ion Antonescu created an "authoritarian" régime on September 6th, 1940, soon after conferring upon himself the title of *Conducator* (Leader). One of his first acts was to "invite" German troops to "protect the oilfields" and reorganise the Rumanian army. They entered the country on October 12th, 1940. At the end of November, Rumania (conjointly with Slovakia) subscribed to the Axis Pact, a fortnight after Hungary had done so. Hitler had reached the Black Sea.

Bulgaria was, apart from Hungary, the most favoured nation on the peninsula. In February, 1941, King Boris yielded to German pressure. On March 1st, Bulgaria too signed the Axis Pact and the occupation of the country by German troops began. The hold on the western shores of the Black Sea was extended and the two remaining Balkan States, Yugoslavia and Greece, completely encircled. The former had been threatened by Italy ever since the seizure of Albania in April, 1939; the latter had been at war with Italy since October 28th, 1940, and had gained spectacular victories in Albania, which placed the Italian army in a precarious position.

Strong forces in Yugoslavia, including the Regent, Prince Paul, were prepared to follow in the wake of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, and an agreement with Germany involving adherence to the Axis Pact was signed in Vienna on March 25th. This was immediately followed by a strong protest from Soviet Russia who had already witnessed Bulgaria's submission with grave misgivings. Two days later a revolution occurred, Prince Paul's régime was overthrown. King Peter, though still under age, assumed power, and the new Premier, General Simovic, ordered general mobilisation. An indication of the tense and confused situation in the Balkans was the suicide on April 3rd of Count Teleki, the Hungarian Prime Minister.

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* *Cf.* General Larminat's article in "*France*," October 5th, 1940—When on August 21st, 1942, conscription was introduced in the three departments and four days later three classes were called up for military service, Pétain lodged a protest through the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, declaring this measure a flagrant breach of the armistice.

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The joint invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece by German troops began on April 6th, 1941. The main thrusts came from the territories of the new satellites; from Hungary and Rumania against Belgrade, from Eastern Bulgaria against Nish and Skoplie, from South-eastern Bulgaria towards Salonika. General Wavell came to the aid of the Greeks, thereby forgoing the fruits of his first Lybian victory.

On April 17th the shattered remnants of the Yugoslav army surrendered and four days later the Greek army of the Epirus, which had fought the Italians so valiantly but had been cut off owing to a delayed retreat, did the same. From then onwards only rearguard action could be fought in Greece and the Germans entered Athens on the 27th, whilst the evacuation of the Allied forces from the Greek mainland was completed on the 30th. Germany was now able to seize all the Aegean islands and to establish contact with the Italians on the Dodecanese, which had been cut off by British naval forces. The possession of the entire Aegean area provided valuable air bases for the forthcoming attack on Crete, which began on May 19th. For twelve days of the fiercest fighting of the war the British, Imperial and Greek ground forces held out in Crete. All German attempts at sea-borne landings on any large scale were defeated by the British Navy, but the Germans managed to land enough air-borne troops and to bombard the island so severely from the air that the Allied troops were slowly forced to give ground. Air support from bases 300 to 400 miles distant was insufficient, and it was decided to evacuate the island on June 1st. Seventeen thousand men got safely to Egypt, but naval losses were severe. The German conquest of South-eastern Europe was complete.

The new administration of the Balkans was carried out in a different way from that applied in the east, the north and the west of Europe. Whilst Germany had conquered the last-named territories single-handed, in the Balkans the satellites had to be considered, and there was Germany's ally, Italy, who, having derived little benefit from the "Pact of Steel"* now expected her share. Actually none of the satellites had taken part in the fighting or even declared war on Yugoslavia or Greece. Hungary had—as late as February 27th, 1941—concluded a pact of "eternal friendship" with Yugoslavia, but invaded her territory on April 11th. Bulgaria broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia on April 15th, when that country's fate was already sealed; her troops had followed the Germans a few days before that date. Italy had not taken much part in the fighting; she occupied the undefended town of Ljubljana on April 11th, and her troops established contact with German forces in Albania only as a result of the latter's rapid advance. But Germany's intention was to commit her satellites still more deeply in order to make sure of them in the future. The only country that emerged from the Balkan upheavals without any territorial advantages was Rumania.

(ii) *The Partition of Yugoslavia*

The first aim the Axis set itself was the complete break-up of the kingdom of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia had consisted of three component peoples, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. *Croatia* was made an independent State under the patronage of Italy. It was provided that the ancient crown of King Zvonimir should fall to an Italian prince, the Duke of Spoleto, but Mussolini had been harbouring the man whom he had chosen to be the head of this new State. It was Ante Pavelić, a terrorist originating from Herzegovina. Pavelić had fled the country after King Alexander had set up a personal dictatorship in 1929, and had gone to Italy. In 1934, he was instrumental in the murder of the King at Marseilles. Now he became the "State Leader" or *Poglavnik* of Croatia, which he ruled in the Fascist manner with the help of his *Ustaša* formations. His attempts to win the support of the Croat peasant leader Maček were unsuccesssful. Although all Bosnia-Herzegovina was included in the new State, its new frontiers were not satisfactory to the Croat nationalists, as Italy annexed some 9,000 sq. km. in South Croatia and on the Dalmatian coast, and later even occupied a zone extending some 30 miles from the coast and comprising much of Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the pretext that the new Croat government was threatened by partisans in all parts of the country. *Montenegro* was declared independent again and taken under Italy's tutelage, though Italy was never able to occupy the country effectively. *Serbia* was cut to pieces. South-eastern Serbia (Macedonia) with Skpolje, Veles and Monastir was handed over to Bulgaria, while *Albania*, then still an Italian dependency, was enlarged to the north-east by the Kosovo district at Serbia's expense. Hungary received the Bačka and Baranja, the territory north of the Drava-Danube line and west of the Tisa of very mixed population, having 33 per cent. Southern Slavs, 35 per cent. Hungarians and 24 per cent. Germans in 1921. What remained of *Serbia* came under German occupation with a *Militärbefehlshaber Serbien* whose *Chef des Verwaltungsstabes*, SS-*Obergruppenführer* Dr. Turner, has been the virtual administrator of the country ever since. A few months later General Milan Nedić, Minister of War until October, 1940, formed an "autonomous" government on August 29th, 1941, so that from that date the status of Serbia was technically comparable with that of France.

Within the new "Serbian State," the Serb *Banat* received a special status. Although technically subject for central civil administration to Nedić's government, this territory, forming a triangle with the Danube as its basis, the Tisza to the west, the Rumanian frontier to the east, enjoys a large measure of autonomy, the regional civil administration being in the hand of local ethnic Germans whilst in economic matters it comes under the Reich administration. The *Banat* is thus little more than an outlying dependency of Germany and enjoys in this respect a unique position among the various froms of "External Reich Administration."

Slovenia received the worst treatment. The Slovenes, a small but vigorous and highly civilised nation of some 1·6 million, inhabited under the Habsburgs the southern parts of Styria and Carinthia, the whole of Carniola (*Krain*), most of Goricia (Görz) and the northern fringe of the Istrian peninsula. In 1918, they decided under the leadership of Father Korošec* to join the new Yugoslav State, then called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. But by virtue of the Treaty of Rapallo, Goricia, Trieste, Istria and part of Carniola fell to Italy, which thus included within its boundaries some 320,000 Slovenes—the largest minority in Italian territory.

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* As to France, neither Nice, Corsica nor Tunis became hers; she was—only reluctantly—permitted to occupy south-eastern France up to the River Rhone, not including Marseilles, Toulon or Lyons.

* Korošec died in 1940.

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Some 50,000 Slovenes in Southern Carinthia remained with Austria: in the plebiscite of 1920 they had opted for Autsria by a majority of 59·5 per cent.[*] The remainder became the *Dravska Banovina* of Yugoslavia with 16,000 sq. km. and 1,150 million inhabitants. Of this the Slovenes formed 94·3 per cent.; 41,000 or 2·5 per cent, were Germans, almost half of them living in the German colony of Kočevje (Gottschee) in the south.[*]

Slovenia was partitioned in 1941 between Germany, Italy, and Hungary. Hungary received a small area in Eastern Slovenia, the Prekomurje, *i.e.*, the land east of the River Mur. Italy acquired a larger share, the city of Ljubljana and the territory south of it with some 300,000 inhabitants. re-christened the *provincia di Lubiana*. The lion's share was secured by Germany. Germany took those parts which had belonged to Styria under the Habsburg Empire, also northern Carniola, the Miess valley and the Seeland district, which were formerly part of Carinthia and were ceded to Yugoslavia without plebiscite in 1919. In absorbing these territories—amounting to 10,757 sq. km. with between 800 and 900,000 inhabitants before the invasion—Germany applied two methods she had used before. The Miess valley and Seeland, tiny districts of together 450 sq. km. were re-annexed—finally in 1942—to Carinthia. The rest was divided into two parts and each, by a decree of May 15th, 1941, placed under a Chief of Civil Administration. So-called Lower Styria (*Untersteiermark*) came under the Reich Governor of Styria, while Upper Carniola (*Oberkrain*) was placed under the Reich Governor of Carinthia. The offices of these Governors are not in the territories themselves, but, as in the case of Lorraine, in the capitals of the adjacent *Reichsgaue*, viz., Graz and Klagenfurt. The main task of these Governors was the same as that of their colleagues in the west—to germanise these predominant non-German territories. Whilst the Italian statute for the province of Ljubljana provided, at least on paper, for cultural autonomy for the Slovenes and the use of their language for official purposes, the German Governors embarked on a campaign to exterminate all vestiges of Slovene life and civilisation by killing or deporting Slovene intelligentsia, and administrative and economic leaders . The avowed aim was to incorporate these territories into the adjacent *Reichsgaue*.

(iii) *The Partition of Greece*

As long as the Axis held together Greece was divided up between Germany, Italy and Bulgaria. Bulgaria annexed western Thrace, the Islands of Samothrace and Thasos, and eastern Macedonia. Germany placed under military occupation the remainder of Greek Macedonia, the Aegean Islands, a small strip along the Turkish border, the port of Piraeus and two-thirds of the island of Crete. The rest of the country was under Italian occupation. In Athens a puppet government was formed as early as April 30th, 1940, under General Tsolakoglu, who has already had two successors. This government nominally controlled the whole country with the exception of the Bulgarian zone, the Aegean Islands (under German administration) and the Ionian Islands (until September, 1943, under Italian administration).

Thus the new order in the Balkans is confused and complicated. A new satellite State has been created (Croatia); two puppet or quisling governments (in Serbia and Greece) have been set up under the military occupation of the victors. The Italian dependencies (Montenegro and Albania) have been enlarged. Slices of territory have been annexed by Hungary, Bulgaria and Italy. Germany has created two new Chiefs of Administration for the future incorporation of alien territory. and has annexed some small sections. A special status has been given to the Serb *Banat*. On the model of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, the Germans everywhere in the Balkans have been granted privileged status. But these countries have not been pacified, and Yugoslav or Greek patriots have continued to harrass the ocupying Powers, their satellites and their quislings.

5. *The Second Thrust East* (*Summer*, 1941, *to Summer*, 1942)

(i) *The Russian Campaign up to Stalingrad*

Russia was invaded by Germany on June 22nd, 1941, seven weeks after the Campaign in Crete had ended. There is no doubt that Russia had felt uneasy about German intentions ever since she had concluded the Pact of Moscow on August 24th, 1939. To strengthen her defences she had pursued an extremely active foreign policy and had acquired large territories destined to give her western boundaries greater security. This process was carried out in four stages:—

(1) The occupation of Eastern Poland in September, 1939.

(2) The "Winter War" with Finland (November 30th, 1939, to March 12th, 1940), which secured the Karelian Isthmus, the naval base of Hangö and the territory of East-central Finland.

(3) The seizure from Rumania of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in June, 1940.

(4) The seizure of the three Baltic Republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in June–July, 1940.

These territorial acquisitions (comprising about 760,000 sq. km., with 23 million inhabitants) gave Russia control over the northern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea and pushed her frontiers westward by some 200 to 400 miles right up to the Rivers Danube and Pruth in the south, the Vistula and Bug in the centre and the Niemen in the north. The *cordon sanitaire* had disappeared and a common frontier with Germany was established from Memel to the Carpathians.

Russia watched German expansion in the Balkans with the greatest concern. She expressed strong disapproval when the Bulgarians joined the Axis Pact. Serious warnings were sent to Belgrade when the Yugoslav ministers left for Vienna to sign their country's capitulation and the subsequent revolution in Yugoslavia was openly applauded. On the day before the German invasion of Yugoslavia, a pact of friendship and non-aggression was signed between Russia and the new Yugoslav government. The pact did not commit Russia in case of a German attack on her co-signatory, and the Russians went so far in their efforts to appease Germany that the Russian Government recognised the suppression of the Yugoslav State.

Germany's official explanation of her attack on Russia was that she was merely forestalling a "Bolshevik" assault on the Reich, an assertion disproved by all steps taken by the Soviet Government

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[*] The zone contained 23,000 Germans and 50,000 Slovenes.

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prior to the invasion. On January 10th, 1941, Russia renewed the Pact of Moscow; on April 13th, she concluded a non-aggression pact with Japan; and the actions which Germany described as hostile—the annexations, the warning to Bulgaria, the Yugoslav pact—were precautions against aggressive acts on the part of the German Government, a warning of which had been conveyed to Russia by Mr. Churchill.

The war which Russia waged—from July 17th in alliance with Great Britain—was therefore a defensive one. Germany was able to unleash the whole force of her *Blitzkrieg* on Russia. The satellites were compelled to assist her. Hungary was required, in pursuance of an understanding reached when Transylvania was partitioned, to declare war. Rumania was given a free hand to make good her losses by conquest in the east; Finland, brooding on revenge for the humiliation of the Winter War, renewed the struggle; even Slovakia and Croatia had to participate.

The first stage of the summer campaign of 1942 was fought on territory newly acquired by Russia—the Baltic countries, Bialystok, Eastern Poland and Eastern Galicia. The deepest German penetration on the northern and central fronts had been effected by early November, 1941, when the German line ran east of, but excluding, Leningrad, east of Lake Ilmen, Rzhev, Mozhaisk and west of Moscow, Tula down to Bielgorod, Izyum and Rostov-on-Don. This line included the whole of the White Russian Republic, the areas of the Great Russian provinces of Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kaluga, Bryansk and Gomel, Orel and Kursk, the greater part of Leningrad province and three-quarters of the Ukrainian Republic.

On the southern front, the summer of 1942 saw a great German advance which by the early autumn had reached a line running from Voronezh east to the Volga at Stalingrad and south through the Kalmuck steppe to just west of the oilfields of Grozno, whence the front skimmed the foothills of the Caucasus, penetrating in the centre to Mount Elbrus, where the swastika flag was hoisted on August 25th. The front reached the Black Sea slightly north-west of the port of Tuapse. Thus the conquest of the whole of the Ukraine and of the Crimean peninsula had been effected quite apart from the whole of the North Caucasian area.

By the autumn of 1942 the Nazis claimed with their satellites, the Rumanians and Finns, to have conquered no less than 1,600,000 sq. km. of Russian territory, with a population of 90 millions. They organised these territories in different ways. The larger, easterly part, roughly 840,000 sq. km. with about 31 million inhabitants, was declared a "*rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet*" or operational area under purely military administration. The smaller part, with an area of over 760,000 sq.km. and approximately 51 million inhabitants, was placed under civil administration.

(ii) *Finland and Rumania Rewarded*

Civil administration was established in a belt of territory from Narva down to the Sea of Azov. The Finns, having reconquered the territory they had lost during the Winter War, refused to advance any further. The Rumanians were less cautious. Having reconquered and re-incorporated Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, they advanced with the German forces in the south, besieged and finally occupied Odessa and took part in the conquest of the Crimea, the southern Ukraine and Caucasia. As a reward, and as a consolation for their losses to Hungary and Bulgaria, they were given the area between the Rivers Dniester and Bug with Odessa as the capital, the country usually known as Podolia. Under the Czars it had been part of the Ukraine, and from it Soviet Russia had carved the small "autonomous Moldavian Republic," which centred round the town of Balta, the most important urban centre after Odessa and Tiraspol. The new acquisition, which Rumania was determined to holds as her own, was called *Transnistria* and comprised an area of some 40,000 sq. km., with 2,500,000 inhabitants, not more than 10 per cent. of whom are Rumanians.

(iii) *Eastern Galicia*

The remainder, *i.e.*, 678,000 sq. km., with over 33 million inhabitants, was placed under German civil administration. Eastern Galicia, *i.e.*, the *Voievodships* of Tarnopol, Stanislawow and Lwow, the inhabitants of which are mostly Ukrainians, were incorporated into the "General Government" as the fifth and largest district, by decree of July 22nd, 1941,[*] and complete co-ordination with the administration of the "General Government" was effected, although the difference between Poles and Ukrainians were exploited by granting the latter certain privileges.

(iv) *District Bialystok*

Special treatment was given to the *Voievodship* of Bialystok, a territory the size of Belgium, with a population of roughly 1,500,000. The greater part of the district had been on the Russian side of the demarcation line.[†] The district was placed by a decree of August 1st, 1941, under a Chief of Civil Administration, the head of which was the *Oberpräsident* of the adjacent Prussian Province of East Prussia, Erich Koch, who was already in charge of the district (*Landkreis*) of Suwalki, which had been part of Bialystok before 1939. As in the other five territories of the same status, the Chief of Civil Administration is subject to Hitler's orders only and is independent of any Reich Ministries in the administration of his district. Reich Laws are introduced in the district by order of the Governor; the administration is carried out by East Prussian officials and co-ordination with the adjacent Prussian province has gradually been achieved, for instance, German Law was introduced on January 1st, 1943, and the Bialystok District Courts (*Landgericht* and Special Court in Bialystok, *Amtsgerichte* in Bialystok and Grodno) are considered inland courts, the appeal court being the *Oberlandesgericht* in Königsberg. The railway system (1,100 kms.) has been placed under the management of the Reich Railway President in Königsberg.

There is no doubt that incorporation into East Prussia was intended, particularly as a decree of March 4th, 1942, not only divided the "*Bezirk*" into one *Stadtkreis* and seven *Landkreise*, but also incorporated it in *Wehrkreis* I (Königsberg). While the few resident ethnic Germans had been evacuated after the Russian occupation in 1939, a great number was sent to the district after the

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[*] Lwow had been occupied by the Germans on June 30th, 1941.

[†] Under Polish rule, the district had a little over 32,000 sq. km. with roughly 1·65 million inhabitants. The Germans included the important railway centre of Ostrolenka (Scharfenwiese) in the *Reg. Bez.* Ciechanow, and the line leading south to the Warsaw-Vilna railway in the "General Government" when the demarcation line was fixed. Later, in 1941, they extended the district of Bialystok south to the main line Brest-Baranowicze, leaving Brest and Kossow just outside, *i.e.*, in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine.

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reoccupation and as many as 20,000 were reported to be living there by November, 1942, acting as administrators, professional men, agricultural leaders, merchants and foremen.

The reason for the incorporation of this territory which apart from its textile, leather and machine industry (centred round Grodno) is overwhelmingly agricultural in character, is to be seen in its importance as a centre of communications. The district has been aptly called a "landbridge" between the Baltic and the Black Sea*.

(v) *The Two Reich Commissariats "Ostland" and "Ukraine"* (*see Map facing page* 21.)

The remainder of the territory conquered in the Russian campaign and placed under civil administration was treated in a completely new way. Comprising almost 600,000 sq. km., and with 26 million inhabitants, it was placed under a special territorial ministry in Berlin, the *Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete,** directed by the Baltic-born author of "The Myth of the Twentieth Century," Alfred Rosenberg. This Ministry was established on November 17th, 1941, *i.e.*, the day after the second offensive against Moscow had been launched and the final conquest of Soviet Russia seemed assured. It was entrusted with the administration of all occupied Soviet territories except the above-mentioned three districts "embracing almost all the functions which would otherwise have devolved on the central authorities of the Reich" as the official proclamation not very aptly stated. To Rosenberg alone Hitler gave authority to enact decrees with the force of law in the territories concerned. The tasks of the new Ministry were mainly of an economic nature, namely to "open up the war material resources of the territories, to increase agricultural production, to construct new roads and other means of communication and to guide the population who had been enslaved by Bolshevism to a higher standard of living," in short, the main aim was to be the economic exploitation of these areas. The Ministry has five Divisions (*Hauptabteilungen*) with thirty-three departments.

The setting up of the Ministry had been preceded by the gradual introduction of Civil Administration into the different areas, which had culminated in the establishment on July 17th, 1941, of a *Reichkommissariat Ostland* under the *Oberpräsident* and *Gauleiter* of Schleswig-Holstein, Hinrich Lohse. He was to govern the "liberated" Baltic Republics and White Russia. The boundaries of *Ostland* were still undefined, as the occupation of Tartu (Dorpat) did not take place until ten days after Lohse's appointment and the Red Army was not cleared from the whole of Estonia until October 18th. On the day on which the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was founded, the creation of yet another *Reichkommissariat* was announced, called the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine.* It was placed under Erich Koch, mentioned above as *Oberpräsident* of the enlarged Prussian province of East Prussia and Chief of the Civil Administration of the district of Bialystok. This Nazi functionary thus governed for two years a broad belt of territory reaching from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The administration of these two Reich commissariats did not follow the same lines. The position of the Reich Commissioners differed from that of the Commissioners installed in Norway and Holland, and also from the position of the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia and the Governor-General of Poland. Whilst these four are subject only to Hitler's orders and are otherwise the sole rulers of their territories, the two new Reich Commissioners were subject to the orders of Reich Minister Rosenberg in Berlin or his permanent deputy, Dr. Alfred Meyer. Administration was more decentralised in the Reich Commissariat *Ostland* than in the Ukraine, and the Commissioners General (*Generalkommissare*) for the different Districts General (*Generalbezirke*) in the *Ostland* had more power than their opposite numbers in the Ukraine. The position of the Reich Commissioner of *Ostland* was therefore more of a supervisory nature than that of the Reich Commissioner of the Ukraine.*

The *Reichskommissariat Ostland* comprises the three Baltic States and a fourth district called "White Ruthenia." These four units were termed *Generalbezirke* each administered by a *Generalkommissar.* For a short time, the Russian province of Pskov (Pleskau) was included in the General District of Estonia (Autumn, 1941, to Spring, 1942).† The General District of Lithuania retained those parts of the Voievodship of Vilna (including the town itself) which the Russians had transferred to it in 1940. The General District of "White Ruthenia" was originally intended to include the province of Smolensk in addition to the rest of the Voievodship of Novogrodeck, parts of Polesie and the whole of the Soviet Republic of Bielo-Russia. But the Russian advance in the spring of 1942 interrupted these plans, and whereas the General District was estimated at the end of 1941 to comprise 234,000 sq. km., with ten million inhabitants, official statements made in 1943 give about one-third of these figures. The district was before the Russian offensive in June, 1944, composed of the above-mentioned Polish territories and some thousand square kilometres of Soviet Bielo-Russia, including the towns of Minsk, Sluzk and the important junction of Borissow, the last just on the eastern border. Whilst the three Baltic countries were subdivided into District Commissariats (*Kreisgebiete*) with District Commissars (*Gebietskommissare*), five for Lithuania and six each for Latvia and Estonia; "White Ruthenia" was divided into two main districts (*Hauptgebiete* Minsk and Baranowicze‡ each under a German *Hauptkommissar ;* lower administrative divisions were one *Stadtgebiet* (Minsk) under a German *Stadtkommissar* and ten *Landgebiete* under German *Gebietskommissare.*

The hopes of certain groups in the Baltic countries that their independence would be restored were soon dashed. The restoration of property, which had been nationalised during the twelve months of Russian occupation, was also carried out only to a very limited extent. On March 18th, 1942, Rosenberg issued a decree by which a certain limited degree of self-government was introduced. German sovereignty was assured

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* Incidentally, Bialystok (with the exception of Grodno) and the adjacent *Regierungsbezirk* Zichenau had been Prussian from 1795 to 1806, as a result of the third Polish Partition.

* The General Commissars of the four Districts General in the *Ostland* were, for example, empowered by Rosenberg in July, 1942, to issue decrees which had the force of law within their respective spheres of competence.

† Lohse in an article on *Ostland* "*Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte,*" January, 1942) mentioned Veliki Luki as lying within the sphere of his Commissariat. This town lies within the Soviet province of Pskov.

‡ According to Lohse's article of January, 1942 (*op. cit.*) there were three more *Hauptgebiete*, those of Mohilev, Vitebsk and Smolensk, and thirty-nine *Kreisgebiete* in the whole General Commissariat.

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by leaving political leadership under the direction of the Reich Minister, who delegated the governing powers to the Reich Commissioners, who in turn delegated administrative powers to the Commissioners General. The Commissioners General therefore supervised the whole administration of their territories, and were entitled to take any action necessary for order and security and to delegate regional administrative powers to the District Commissars. In particular, the whole economic administration was in their hands. Internal administration, however, was largely left to so-called self-governing bodies, each named differently in the different General Districts. Estonia had National Directors (*Landesdirektoren*) ; Latvia, Directors General (*Generaldirektoren*), and Lithuania, Councillors General (*Generalräte*). The First Director or Councillor was the head of internal administration, the others were heads of central departments. Yet, these native Directors—appointed and dismissed by the Commissioners Generals, were not governments in the same sense as the governments of other occupied countries, viz., Serbia and Greece. Regional administration was built up in a similar way by means of *Kreise* with a *Kreis* Alderman at their head. All these native officials were appointed by German authorities and they could issue decrees only with German approval. In local government the " leader principle " was introduced and the once popularly elected bodies had purely advisory functions, their members being appointed or dismissed by the appropriate German supervisory authority. The German penal code was administered in the German courts established in *Ostland* ; a German Supreme Court was installed in Riga, the seat of the Reich Commissioner, and a German Court and Special Court were set up at the seat of each Commissioner General. Official communication with the German authorities was conducted in German, the native administration (*landeseigene Behörden*) used German and the vernacular.

White Russia was given special treatment. The Germans gave the " White Ruthenians " the status of a special *Volkstum*. The first step of a participation in internal affairs was taken in July, 1942, when Dr. Ermatschenko, then Director of the White Russian Relief Organisation (*Selbsthilfe-Bewegung*) was appointed *Referent für weissruthenische völkische Angelegenheiten* in the Political Department of the Commissioner General. In June, 1943, a White Russian Representative Committee (*Vertrauensauschuss*) was set up to " advise " and collaborate with the civil administration ; it was composed of the Elders (*Kreisälteste*) of the ten districts and six other White Russians, under the chairmanship of Professor Iwanowski, Alderman of the city of Minsk who was assassinated in December. Wilhelm Kube, the Commissioner General and one of the most ruthless Nazi officials in occupied Europe, defined the German policy in White Russia in September, 1942, as follows : " Ten million White Ruthenians have stood unprotected between ninety million Russian and eighteen million Poles. One hundred million Germans will guarantee the ten million White Ruthenians their racial consciousness within the comity of nations of liberated Europe.* German leadership offers the decent White Ruthenian people, fundamentally healthy and unspent, the unfolding of a new life under the protection of Adolf Hitler's sword and the benevolent guidance of German administration." One year later, on September 20th, 1943, Kube was assassinated.

The *Ostland* was mainly administered by officials of high SA rank, many having been imported from Schleswig-Holstein by Lohse, who himself is an *SA-Obergruppenführer*. Kube, however, was replaced by a high SS-official. Popular resistance was extremely strong in White Russia, where there were a great number of guerrillas. The Baltic population, particularly the Lithuanians, have also shown many signs of resistance to the régime.

The Reich Commissariat *Ukraine* comprised, until the Russian armies re-conquered it between mid-September, 1943 and April, 1944, a territory of 339,276 sq. km. The General District of Volhynia-Podolia chiefly embraced areas of the Polish Republic, viz., the whole of the Vioevodship of Volhynia and two-thirds of the Vioevodship of Polesie. The northern frontier ran ten miles north of the vital railway line Brest-Pinsk-Gomel where it meets the Dnieper at Rechitsa ; from there it followed the river south to the mouth of the Pripet. This, the most southerly part of Soviet Bielo-Russia, lay within the Reich Commissariat Ukraine, including the railway junctions of Mosyr and Kalinkovichi. Although the inclusion of this railway line must have been the main reason for pushing the boundaries so far north, the frontiers of " White Ruthenia " on Polish territory coincide exactly with the Ukrainian language boundaries and only include Bielo Russians on Soviet territory.

The remainder of the area included in the Reich Commissariat belonged to the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, which comprised 445,300 sq. km. before the German invasion. As mentioned above, the territory between the Dniester and the Bug had been handed over to Rumania. The eastern boundary, as finally fixed in the autumn of 1942, omitted the province of Cernigov,* but extended as far as thirty miles east of Poltawa and sixty miles east of the line Dniepropetrovsk-Zaporozhe to reach the Sea of Azov between Berdiansk and Mariopol. Kharkov and the entire Basin of the Don remained outside the Reich Commissariat, which included, however, the important manganese mines of Nikopol and the iron mines and industries of Krivoi Rog. The port of Nikolaiev was the only outlet of importance to the Black Sea.

The seat of the Reich Commissioner Koch was situated in the west at Rovno, Polish Volhynia. The Reich Commissariat was sub-divided into six General Districts, the capitals of which were situated in Luzk, Zhitomir, Kiev, Nikolaiev, Dniepropetrovsk and Melitopol. The Crimean peninsula had always been part of the " operational base," although the Melitopol district was sometimes called General District Crimea and sometimes Sub-District (*Teilbezirk*) Taurida ; the latter indicated that it was intended to incorporate the Crimea at an opportune moment.

The Reich Commissariat Ukraine was, in contrast to *Ostland*, wholly administered by German personnel. Koch had a large central administration in Rovno, comprising eleven chief departments. The Commissioner General had much smaller individual powers than those in *Ostland*, and there was no intention to call in the aid of a puppet government. The districts (*Kreisgebiete*) and five *Stadtgebiete* were solely administered by Germans, and only the smallest units, *Rayons* (rural districts), small towns and villages were run by native personnel, which was, of course, appointed by the German authorities. Much was made of the introduction of a " new agrarian

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* The considerable Polish minority in the District General was completely ignored.

* The province of Cernigov was part of the Reich Commissariat during the spring and summer of 1942.

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order," proclaimed for the whole sphere of Rosenberg's activities in the spring of 1942 and introduced in the Ukraine a year later. It was alleged to have replaced the Soviet communal system by private ownership. It merely served, however, the main purpose of the Reich Commissariat, viz., to exploit the economic wealth of the territory. The same may be said of the deliberate cultivation of Ukranian national aspirations and the provision of educational facilities. The latter, however, showed very poor results.*

The chief task of the administrators working under Rosenberg in Ostland and the Ukraine had been declared to be the "europeanisation" of these territories and their incorporation into the "European *Grossraum*." The general competence given to the Reich Minister for this purpose, was, however, gradually limited, as so-called special administrations (*Sonderverwaltungen*) penetrated into his sphere to an increasing degree. The maintenance of order and security was entrusted to Himmler, and the considerable police forces were under his orders. The military commanders of the Commissariats were, of course, subject to orders from the High Command. The Reich Minister for Transport organised the railway system in the *Generalverkehrsdirektion Osten*; The Reich Post Minister the postal and telephone services. All questions of war economy and armament production, including building activities, were under Speer, while the "incorporation of the economies of the occupied eastern territories into the framework of the European economic system" was carried out by the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, Göring. It was nevertheless laid down that "all these authorities remain in close contact with the 'East Minister' and with one another, so that a unified direction of the affairs of these territories is assured." These limitations of the powers of leading administrators, whether they are called Reich Commissioner, Reich Protector, Chief of Civil Administration, Governor General or even Chief of the Administrative Staff under a military commander, were apparent everywhere in the "external Reich administration" and were as valid as in the internal Reich administration.

III.—Changes effected by the Reduction of the "Fortress of Europe"

The turn of Germany's fortunes signalised by the successful defence of Stalingrad on the one hand, and the battle of El Alamein on the other, has drastically affected the system of Nazi government outlined above.

1. *The Defection of Italy*

The Libyan campaign, beginning with the battle of El Alamein (October 24th, 1942) led to the occupation of the remainder of the Italian colonial empire. The conquest of North Africa was completed with the fall of Tunis and Bizerta on May 7th, 1943. The reduction of the island of Pantellaria (June 11th) signified the first reappearance of Allied forces in Western Europe, the conquest of Sicily (July 10th to August 17th) brought in its wake the fall of Mussolini (July 25th) and the unconditional surrender of Italy on September 3rd, 1943.

(i) *Italy Proper*

In consequence of Badoglio's decision, German forces occupied the whole of the Italian mainland, which from the river Po southward became an operational base under the command of Field Marshal of the Luftwaffe Kesselring. The administration of the territory left in German hands though nominally carried on by "Republican Fascists" under the direction of Mussolini, was *de facto* exercised by German military administrators similar to those appointed in France, Belgium and Serbia. In addition, Himmler sent to Rome his personal Chief of Staff and permanent representative at Hitler's Headquarters, SS-*Obergruppenführer* Karl Wolff as "Senior Police and SS-Leader, Italy," to take charge of the security side of the administration.

Two regions have, however, been taken out of the sphere of purely military administration and given a special status under civil administrators whose position is similar to that of a Chief of Civil Administration (*e.g.*, in Luxembourg, "Lower Styria," Bialystok, etc.). These areas mainly comprise territories which had been part of the Habsburg Empire before 1918, namely, the *Alto Adige* (Southern Tyrol) and the northern Adriatic provinces. As in former cases, however, Hitler has gone farther than "historical" precedent would justify, and incorporated into these two regions territory which has been Italian since 1866. The two regions have lately become known as (*a*) the "Sub-Alpine Region" (*Alpenvorland*) and (*b*) the "Adriatic Coastland" (*Adriatisches Küstenland*).

(*a*) *Alpenvorland.* This new region not only includes the *Compartimento* of Venezia Tridentino with the provinces of Bolzano and Trento, but also the province of Belluno of the *Compartimento* Veneto in the east which reaches into the north Italian plain. Venezia Tridentino is the region south of the Brenner Pass which was known under Habsburg rule as the South Tyrol and was ceded to Italy under the Treaty of St. Germain. The population of the northern province of Bolzano is mainly German-speaking and of the same stock as the Austrians in Tyrol-Vorarlberg.*

As Supreme Commissioner (*Oberster Kommissar*), the Reich Governor and Party Gauleiter of the adjacent Reichsgau Tyrol-Vorarlberg, Franz Hofer, was installed at the end of September, 1943. Hofer himself said that the task set him was to "secure the proper attitude and peace and order in the districts south of the Brenner." Measures taken since indicate that the area has been separated from the national territory of Italy. The prefects of the provinces (a German for Bolzano, Italians for the others), the mayors and heads of all public concerns were appointed by the Supreme Commissioner. The Prefect of Bolzano, Dr. Tienzl, was a leader of the German-speaking population after the last war and strove for the retrocession of South Tyrol to Austria. The Fascist Party was forbidden, inhabitants were called up for service in the Wehrmacht and not in Graziano's neo-Fascist army; ration cards in two languages on the German system are used. The German educational system has been introduced, at least in the province of Bolzano. A German special court (*Sondergericht*) was set up in Bolzano and for the administration of civilian justice a Court of Appeal (*Appellationsgericht Trient*) was set up at Trento for all three provinces. The Italian daily paper "*Provincia di Bolzano*" was suppressed and replaced by the "*Bozener Tageblatt.*"

Official German authorities have repeatedly denied any intention of annexation, but unofficial

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* According to an account by the Czech quisling Minister, Moravec, of his sojourn to the Ukraine in the late autumn of 1942, there were 4,200 Ukranian elementary schools, 12 secondary schools and 6 teachers' training colleges. In 1935, the Ukraine had a total of 21,900 schools of which over 9,000 devoted themselves to post-elementary education.

* For the South Tyrol problem see below, Chapter IV.

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writers have already taken it as an accomplished fact. The methods employed and the fact that the neighbouring Reich Governor and Gauleiter became Supreme Commissioner show that these regions are treated in the same way as other border regions destined for final incorporation into the Reich at a later date.

(*b*) *Adriatisches Küstenland.* The new region, "Adriatic Coastland," is of a more complex geographical character than the Sub-Alpine Region. The core consists of the *Compartimento* Venezia Giulia, the old Habsburg coastland province (hence the new name). The province of Fiume was enlarged by Italy in 1941 to include Sušak and other Croat districts. In addition, Southern Slovenia (*provincia di Lubiana*), annexed by Italy in 1941, was included. In the new region the northern and western districts are mainly inhabitated by Slovenes, the eastern and southern districts mainly by Croats, while the western coasts alone are mainly Italian. In the west, the purely Italian province of Udine (*Compartimento* Veneto) was included, thus linking up with the *Alpenvorland.*

Here too the neighbouring Reich Governor and Party Gauleiter was installed as Supreme Commissioner. He is Dr. Friedrich Rainer of Carinthia, who is also Chief of Civil Administration in Upper Carniola. Rainer declared that it was his task to "remove the strain which had always existed in the national and social relations of the region,' and stated that he wished to help the population without distinction of nationality or religion. He was referring to the racial differences between Italians, Slovenes and Croats. As in the *Alto Adige* prefects and other public officials were appointed by Rainer, who gave preference to Yugoslavs. In Ljubljana, the administration was taken over by a Slovene, General Leo Rupnik, who reorganised the "White Guard" (*Domobranci*) on SA lines to check the Yugoslav patriots with the help of Croat *Ustaš* and German troops. In Trieste, the prefect is a German who was formerly *Landrat* of the most southerly *Landkreis*, of Carinthia, Hermagor. All other prefects have German advisors. Economically the region is regarded, according to Nazi officials, as a "key position for the whole of Europe"; a full economic staff has been attached to the Supreme Commissioner's headquarters in Trieste and provincial economic administrations have been set up. The Italian paper "*Piccolo*" was replaced by the German daily newspaper "*Deutsche Adria Zeitung*," of which the first number appeared on January 14th, 1944.

The "Adriatic Coastland" has been officially called an "operational zone," and it is indeed constantly harrassed by patriots, Yugoslav as well as Italian, who have established contact with each other in this borderland.

(ii) *Changes in South-Eastern Europe*

The defection of Italy confronted the Germans with new problems in South-Eastern Europe. In Greece they simply took over the administration of the territories annexed or occupied by Italy. Dalmatia was formally annexed by Croatia, though the Poglavnik's administration in the whole of this "independent State" is only a nominal one. *Albania* has formally renounced the union with Italy forced upon her after the invasion of Fascist troops in 1939 and German recognition was expressed by raising the Consulate-General to a Legation (the Minister being Herr Schliep). A Regency Council under the chairmanship of Mehdi Frasheri was formed in October, 1943, in subservience to Nazi Germany. This is in conflict with the National Liberation Movement (now National Liberation Front). The Kosovë district annexed in 1941 remained nominally part of Albania. After Italy's collapse, anarchy reigned in *Montenegro*, which had been under Italian occupation until the nationalist partisans came out openly on the side of Germany. Under the ægis of the German Military Commander, Major-General Keiper, and the German Consul-General, Kramartz, a national administration was set up on November 11th, 1943, under the Presidency of Ljubo Vuksanović. One of the aims of this administration is the reunion with Serbia, officially supported by the German authorities and General Nedić. The region of Kotor (Cattaro), annexed by Italy in 1941, was assigned to Montenegro, much to the dismay of the Croats who had coveted this Adriatic port. A good many Italian troops joined the patriots under Marshal Tito's command both in Albania and Montenegro.

The repercussions of the Italian collapse, however, were felt most strongly in Hungary, although this country was equally affected by the Russian advance towards her new frontiers in the Carpathians. While the government of Miklos Kallay, established in February, 1942, tried to get out of the war by any means available, the value of Hungary to Germany became more and more obvious as the possibility increased of an Allied invasion from the east and south west. Events moved swiftly and dramatically in the middle of March, 1944. The Regent Horthy was invited to Hitler's headquarters on the 17th; during the night of the 19th to 20th, before Horthy had returned to Budapest, German troops occupied the country. Kallay was forced to resign and a new government, which received the Regent's sanction, was set up under Döme Sztojay, the Hungarian Minister in Berlin. The new government quickly and completely nazified the administration, and introduced under the supervision of the SS and Gestapo, a totalitarian régime on the well-known pattern. The most important member of the government was until August 7th, Bela Imredy, the leader of the all-out pro-Nazi "National Regeneration Party." The terrorist Hungarian "Arrow Cross" Party has so far kept in the background. The real ruler in Hungary is, however, the "Plenipotentiary of the Greater German Reich," Dr. Edmund Veesenmeyer, who was a member of the German Legation at Zagreb before his new appointment.

It appears to be the German intention to place the whole Balkan area under military administration under the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Ritter von Weichs. Already a Chief of Military Administration South-East (*Chef der Militärverwaltung Südost*), has been appointed in the person of the former Director of the German Tourist Agency in Belgrade, Dr. Franz Neuhausen. Economic co-ordination has been entrusted to SA-*Obergruppenführer* Otto Neubacher, who holds the dual post of Plenipotentiary of the Reich for Economic Questions in the Balkans and Representative of the Foreign Office in the different Balkan States. Both, Neuhausen and Neubacher, and probably Weichs too, have their headquarters in Belgrade.

2. *The Effect of the Russian Counter Offensive*

The German defeats since the victorious Russian defence of Stalingrad in the autumn and winter of 1942 has drastically changed the position of the German civil administration in Eastern Europe. The plan to create a Reich Commissariat Caucasus was abandoned. The Reich Commissariat Ukraine

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was entered by Russian forces for the first time in February, 1942, but the German counter-offensive which regained Kharkov early in March, restored Koch's authority for a short time and he proudly asserted that his administration had not suffered from the winter reverses. However, the Russian offensives which continued uninterrupted from July 15th, 1943, to the middle of April, 1944, restored the entire "Reich Commissariat Ukraine" to Russian control. On March 6th, 1943, the "General Government," the "Reich's own Land" was entered by Russian forces and Galicia became a military base.

During the winter and spring of 1943, the Germans tried to rally the people of the occupied territories of Soviet Russia by enlisting them in native military formations (*landeseigene Verbände*) to fight the Red Army and by constituting a puppet government with the object of overthrowing the Soviet régime. The Germans had counted on an early collapse of the Soviet Government after their onslaught of June, 1941, and were bitterly disappointed by their failure to find a quisling. It may seem strange that their hopes revived after the Stalingrad catastrophe. Yet they claimed to have found a Russian quisling in the person of Lieut.-Gen. Andrejevich Vlassov, said to have been captured while fighting as a Soviet Army Commander on the Volkhov front in 1942. At the end of February, 1943, it was announced that Vlassov had founded a Russian Committee in Smolensk with the aim of overthrowing Bolshevism, concluding an honourable peace with Germany and creating a new Russia without communists or capitalists, in co-operation with Germany and the other peoples of Europe. One of the thirteen points of his programme was "true freedom of religion, conscience, speech, press, inviolability of person and domicile." This was taken almost literally from the "basic rights and duties" of the individual embodied in the Weimar Constitution. Vlassov was said to have also created a "Russian Army of Liberation," the organisation of which differed from the *landeseigene Verbände* which were all under German command.

Although Vlassov was much boosted by the press and radio of occupied Europe, neither his name, programme nor army were ever mentioned in the German home press or on home stations. But even the wider propaganda faded out complately after the failure of the German counter-offensive in July, 1943. As to Vlassov, there appears to have been disagreement between the military authorities who supported him and the Party authorities, Rosenberg in particular, who opposed his plans. There are indications that Vlassov himself had trouble over the Ukranian problem, as he insisted on the unity of Russia while German plans have always aimed at splitting up the country into different semi-independent units, such as Caucasia, Ukraine, "White Ruthenia," etc. It has been asserted by neutral sources that Vlassov had returned into captivity voluntarily.*

The situation in the "Reich Commissariat Ostland" also changed during the last six months. The liberation of Leningrad and the advance of the Russian armies right to the borders of Estonia which took place in January and February, 1944, have turned the Commissariat into a military base. The "autonomous" governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been ordered to proclaim conscription and an SS Division, composed of "volunteers" has been recruited in the first two regions. Resistance has been most marked in Lithuania where the military formations had to be disbanded, but the promise of independence in an uncertain future has had no effect in any part of the Baltic countries. The District General of White Ruthenia was reconquered by Russian armies in less than three weeks during July, 1944, on July 13th, the Russians entered the district of Bialystok, which is part of "Greater East Prussia," and Kovno, the capital of Lithuania, was taken on August 1st. Thus the whole system of German civil administration in Eastern Europe has collapsed.

3. *The Satellites*

Most conspicuous during the winter battles of 1942/43 was the failure of the satellite armies which, to a large extent, manned the southern sector of the German front in Russia. Rumanian armies were involved in the defeats in the Caucasus, on the river Don, at Stalingrad and in the Ukraine. In the spring of 1944, Rumania was not only deprived of the annexed province of "Transdniestria," but also of the Northern Bukovina and the greater part of Bessarabia, while the Russians had occupied traditionally Rumanian soil when their offensive temporarily stopped near Jassy in the middle of April, 1944.

Eight Hungarian armies were completely routed at Voronesh in October, 1942, and the remainder of the Hungarian forces removed to the rear or withdrawn to Hungary at the end of 1943. The second Italian Army was annihilated in the Kursk sector soon after the Hungarian defeat. A Croatian division and Slovakian units were also involved in these and succeeding catastrophes. But the most war-weary of all the satellites was Finland, whose front had been stationary since late in 1941, when it ran along the Karelian Isthmus just north of Leningrad and south of the Swir between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, the northern sector being held by the Army of Lapland under the late Colonel General Dietl, who had in vain attempted to take Murmansk. In February, Finland opened peace parleys with Russia through her intermediary, M. Paasikivi, but the very moderate Russian peace terms were twice declined, in March and April, 1944. After a Russian offensive had opened in Karelia on June 9th, and Viipuri was taken twelve days later, the Finnish government committed themselves in an agreement concluded with Ribbentrop on June 25th, 1944, to fight on and not to conclude a separate peace without the consent of the Nazi government. A change of régime was, however, effected on August 6th, 1944, which was followed by a much more radical turn in Rumania where Antonescu's dictatorship was overthrown on August 23rd.

4. *Western Europe*

The impact of the invasion of France by Allied forces on June 6th, 1944, had its repercussions on the German administrative machine of Western and Northern Europe. The mixed military and Gestapo régime in Denmark suffered a great setback when, in July, the Danish people rose in a general strike which ended with the granting of all demands proclaimed by the underground "Council of Freedom," an event that showed the inherent weakness of the German system in time of crisis. The most marked administrative change was carried out in the area of Belgium and Northern France where the military administration was completely ousted and replaced by a combined Party and SS régime as it has existed in Norway and Holland throughout the years of occupation.* The replacement of both, General v. Runstedt as Supreme Commander in the western area and General v. Falkenhausen as governor of Belgium and Northern France points to the tendency to eliminate military influence in occupied Europe in favour of a tight Party and SS régime, a tendency that has been strengthened after the attempt on Hitler on July 20th.

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* There is no absolute proof that the leader of the "Russian Army of Liberation" was really General Vlassov. Although photographs of his formations and of some of his collaborators have appeared in the press of occupied countries, a photograph of Vlassov himself has never been published.

IV.—Germany and The Hague Convention

It seems hardly necessary to point out that in setting up these various forms of civil administration—not to mention the incorporation and annexation of foreign territories in war-time—Germany displayed complete disregard for the Hague Convention regarding land warfare to which she had subscribed. It may suffice to quote the principal articles concerning the régime to be established by a victorious power, if the fortunes of war have enabled it to occupy enemy territory. The articles involved are Nos. 42 to 56 of Section III, of which the following are the most important:—

> Article 43.—" The Authority of the legitimate Power having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to re-establish and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety, *while respecting*, unless absolutely prevented, *the laws in force in the country*."
>
> Article 44.—" Any compulsion on the population of occupied territory to take part in military operations against its own country is forbidden."
>
> Article 46.—" Family honour and rights, the lives of individuals and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty of worship, *must be respected*. Private property cannot be confiscated."
>
> Article 47.—" No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on the population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible."

The holding and shooting of hostages, the destruction of Lidice and many other similar outrages, mass deportations of workers, the enlistment of combatant forces, the repeated and fundamental alteration of the laws and constitutions of occupied countries, the setting-up of concentration camps, the mass expulsion of Jews and political opponents, the mass confiscation of property, are only a few instances of the persistent and flagrant violations of the Hague Convention. It is notable also that the Convention envisages purely military occupation and does not provide for any form of civil administration by the occupying Power.

Yet German writers have frequently maintained that the Hague Convention has been observed. With regard to the occupied western territories (including Luxembourg) one writer states dryly that " administrative practice had from the beginning *not* regarded these territories as ' occupied territories ' in the meaning of the Hague Convention," but that the occupation régimes of the other (non-western) regions had been based in the main on the principles of *occupatio bellica* according to the Hague Convention.* Another writer stated that conditions had changed since the drafting of the Convention: while its authors considered that war was principally a matter for opposing armies and only occasionally touched the civilian population, " war today affects the people as a whole and in every department of life." Therefore, he concluded, the tasks of the civil authorities in an occupied country have increased. They have to deal with all administrative problems and have to intervene in every aspect of civil life. " For this war is a total war."†

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* As to details see above **3**. v, p. 9.

* " *Jahrbuch der Weltpolitik*," 1942, ed. by F. A. Six p. 94.

† R. H. Koch, *Der Aufbau der deutschen Verwaltung in Norwegen*, in " *Reich, Raumordnung, Lebensraum*," vol. 3, 1943, p. 40.

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SURVEY OF NAZI ADMINISTRATION IN OCCUPIED EUROPE

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COVERING NOTE

The following survey places twenty-nine different territories occupied by the Nazis under four main headings :—

I. *Territories incorporated by "decrees"* (10).—They have become new administrative units or parts of existing ones.

II. *Territories virtually incorporated* (5).—The annexation of these territories has not been formally decreed. Their main difference from I consists in the fact that they have been placed under a "Chief of Civil Administration." But semi-official declarations have left no doubt that these territories also are to be formally incorporated when the appropriate moment arrives. Meanwhile they are treated in the same way as territories under I and ruthless germanisation is being carried out by the chiefs. In the case of Alsace and Lorraine, it is suspected that a secret clause was added to the Armistice Treaty expressing Pétain's consent to the cession of these provinces. Hitler has formally withdrawn the guarantee of France's eastern frontier given after the renunciation of the Locarno Treaty in 1936. Recently eight Italian provinces have been placed under the same type of administration. See above V, 6 (*a*) and (*b*).

III. "*Appended*" *Territories* (2).—These are claimed as an integral part of the "Greater German Reich." (The "Protectorate" has "autonomous" government, but the "Government General" has not.)

IV. *Occupied Territories* (10).—These are under military occupation and can be subdivided into three different types :—

(*a*) Territories where a German civil administration exists side by side with military administration (Norway, with an "autonomous" government; the Netherlands, without).

(*b*) Territories where the German military administration alone controls the native civil administration (Denmark, France, Serbia, Greece—with "autonomous" governments—Belgium and the Channel Islands—without "autonomous governments).

(*c*) The two Reich Commissariats, "Ostland" and the "Ukraine," covering territories which were under the sovereignty of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the Rosso-German war on June 22nd, 1941. They are administered by a special territorial Reich Ministry in Berlin on similiar lines to the "appended territories" (III) with the object of sheer exploitation.

V. *Satellite Countries.*—Each has been treated differently and their status frequently changed.

In 1937 Germany (including the Saar district) comprised	469,545 sq. km.	and	68,000,000 inhabitants.
Early in 1943 Germany controlled (according to the "*Brüsseler Zeitung,*" April 3rd, 1943)	3,546,000 sq. km.	and	244,000,000 inhabitants.

ABBREVIATIONS

Obergruppenführer = *Ogruf.*
Gruppenführer = *Gruf.*
Brigadeführer = *Brf.*
Reichsgesetzblatt Part I. = RGB I
Regierungsbezirk. = *Reg. Bez.*
Oberführer = *Of.*
Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP (Foreign Organisation) = *AO*

H3783 – 0025

I.—Territories Incorporated by " Decrees "

Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population in 000's	Relevant " Decrees "	Administration (January 1st, 1944)
1. AUSTRIA (Federal Republic of Austria)	83,764	6,760 (1934)	Invasion March 12th, 1938 Decrees of March 13th, 1938, April 14th, 1939 (RGB I, 777) and May 24th, 1939	Completely absorbed into Reich Administration.
" *Alpen and Donau. Gaue* " Reichsgaue (since May 1st, 1939)	88,151	6,972 (1939)	Reich Governors (*Reichstatthalter*) :	" Reich Gaue " Vienna, Upper and Lower Danube form " Wehrkreis " XVII, Vienna ; the remainder form " Wehrkreis " XVIII, Salzburg.
Vienna	1,216	1,930	Baldur v. Schirach, Reichsleiter	
Carinthia	11,554	450	Dr. F. Rainer, SS-Ogruf.	* The " Landkreis " Neubistritz, Nikolsburg and Znaim of Gau Lower Danube (2,178 sq. km. and 189,000 inhabitants) were Czech territory before Munich.
" Lower Danube "	23,502	1,698*	Dr. H. Jury, SS-Ogruf.	
" Upper Danube "	14,216	1,035†	A. Eigruber, SA and SS-Ogruf.	† The " Landkreis " Kaplitz and Krummau (1,774 sq. km. and 91,000 inhabitants) of Reich Gau " Upper Danube " were Czech territory before Munich.
Salzburg	7,153	257	Dr. G. A. Scheel, SS-Ogruf.	
Styria	17,384	1,186	Dr. S. Uiberreither, SA-Ogruf.	
Tyrol and Vorarlberg	13,126	486	Franz Hofer, NSKK Gruf.	
2. " SUDETENLAND " (Part of the Czechoslovak Republic)	28,971	3,408 (1939)	Munich Agreement, September 29th, 1938 Führer Decree, October 1st, 1938 and Decree concerning administration of Reichsgau " Sudetenland " of April 14th, 1939 (RGB I, p. 780)	Completely absorbed into Reich Administration. The territory ceded by the C.S.R. was not wholly absorbed into the Reichsgau " Sudetenland." Besides Reichsgaue Upper and Lower Danube, the Reg.-Bez. Niederbayern-Oberpfalz of the Land Bavaria received the " Landkreis " Bergreichenstein, Markt Eisenstein and Prachatitz (1,748 sq. km. and 91,000 inhabitants). The district of Hlucin (335 sq. km. and 53,000 inhabitants) was incorporated in Upper Silesia. Reichsgau " Sudetenland " was divided into three Reg.-Bez. Cheb (Eger) (part of " Wehrkreis " XIII, Usti (Aussig) (part of " Wehrkreis " IV) and Opava (Troppau) (part of " Wehrkreis " VIII).
" Reichsgau Sudetenland "	22,608	2,943 (1939)	Reich Governor : Konrad *Henlein,* SS-Ogruf. in Liberec (Reichenberg)	
3. MEMELLAND (Part of Republic of Lithuania)	2,416	155 (1939)	Treaty between Lithuania and Germany of March 22nd, 1939	Completely absorbed into Reich administration. Now forms three " Landkreis " of Reg.-Bez. Gumbinnen of Prussian Province of East Prussia. Part of " Wehrkreis " I.
4. SUWALKI (" Sudauen ") (Part of Polish Republic)	2,840	117 (1939)	Decrees of October 8th, 1939, and November 26th, 1939	Forms " Landkreis " in Reg.-Bez. Gumbinnen Part of " Wehrkreis " I, Königsberg.
5. CIECHANOW (" Zichenau "—part of Polish Republic)	12,914	854 (1939)	Decrees of October 8th, 1939 (RGB I, 2042) and November 26th, 1939	Reg.-Bez. in Prussian Province of East Prussia, subdivided into nine " Landkreise." Regierungspräsident : *Rossbach.* Part of " Wehrkreis " I. Only 3 per cent. Germans. Oberpräsident of East Prussia : Gauleiter Erich *Koch.* Senior SS- and Police Leader (permanent deputy) George *Ebrecht,* SS- Gruf., also Commissar for the " consolidation of German nationhood " in territories 3–5, and Bialystok (II, 1).
6. DANZIG (Free City of Danzig)	1,893	391 (1939)	Law concerning " reunion " of Danzig with the Reich of September 1st, 1939, passed by Reichstag (RGB I, p. 1547)	Part of " Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen," Danzig being its capital and capital of Reg.-Bez. Danzig. Reich Governor : Albert *Forster,* Gauleiter and SS-Ogruf., Senior SS and Police Leader (for 6 and 7) and Commissar for the consolidation of German nationhood : Friedrich *Katzmann,* SS-Gruf.
7. POMORZE (Part of Polish Republic)	21,237	1,595 (1939)	Decree of October 8th, 1939, setting up " Reichsgau Danzig — Westpreussen." (RGB I, p. 2042 and Ordinances October 20th, 1939, October 26th, 1939, November 2nd, 1939, January 29th, 1940.	Part of " Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen," distributed over Reg.-Bez. Bydgoser (Bromberg), Danzig and Marienwerder. Reich Governor as above. " Reichsgau " forms " Wehrkreis " XX. Ruthless germanisation. Hitler has decreed that Gau has to be German by 1951, when all Poles still remaining have to leave. About 50,000 ethnic German settlers from eastern and south-eastern Europe.

7A. **Dzialdowo** (Soldau) .. .. (Part of Pomorze)	491	20 (1939)	—	Incorporated in East Prussia, Reg.-Bez. Allenstein, Kreis Neidenburg.
8. **Poznan** and parts of *voievodships* of Lodz and Warszawa (Part of Polish Republic)	43,905	4,694 (1942)	Decree of October 8th, 1939, setting up " Reichsgau Wartheland " (RGB I, p. 2042)	" Reichsgau Wartheland " is the only new administrative unit incorporated which consists of Polish territory only. Reich Governor: Arthur *Greiser*, SS and NSFK-Ogruf. Reg.-Bez. Inowraclaw (Hohensalza), 14,441 sq. km., 1,162,000 inhabitants (1942); Reg.-Bez. Lodz (Litzmannstadt), 14,062 sq. km., 2,094,000 inhabitants (1942); Reg.-Bez. Poznan (Posen), 15,419 sq. km., 1,290,000 inhabitants (1942). The Reichsgau forms " Wehrkreis " XXI. Ruthless germanisation. 800,000 " ethnic " German settlers from eastern and south-eastern Europe. Senior SS- and Police-Leader and Commissar for German nationhood: Heinz *Reinefahrt* SS-Gruf.
9. **Polish Silesia** .. .. (Part of Polish Republic, but also including the Czechoslovak district of Teschen (Tesin), 1,462 sq. km. and 285,000 inhabitants, occupied by Poland after Munich)	10,586	2,759 (1939)	Decree of October 8th, 1939, setting up Reg.-Bez. Katowice and decree of January 27th, 1941, forming Province of Upper Silesia Decree of March 4th, 1941 (and subsequent decrees) concerning the " German Volksliste " also applies to Suwalki, Ciechanow, Pomorze, Poznan, and Polish Silesia. Of over 10,000,000 Polish nationals incorporated, 9,221,000 were Polish and 653,000 German before September 1st, 1939.	Into Reg.-Bez. Katowice of Prussian Province of Upper Silesia (7,836 sq. km., 2,432,000 inhabitants. The other portions were included in Reg.-Bez. Oppeln. Oberpräsident and Gauleiter: Fritz *Bracht*, SS-Gruf. Regierungspräsident of Katowice: Walter *Springorum*. Senior SS-etc. Leader: Ernst H. *Schmauser*, SS-Ogruf.
10. **Eupen-Malmédy** .. .. (Kingdom of Belgium), Cantons Eupen, Malmédy and St. Vith	1,056 1,232*	67 (1941) 87 (1943)	Führer Decree of May 18th, 1940 (RGB I, p. 777) concerning " reunion " with the Reich	Two " Landkreise " of Reg.-Bez. Aachen of Prussian Rheinprovinz, part of " Wehrkreis " VI, Senior SS-etc. Leader of which is Karl *Gutenberger*, SS-Ogruf.

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* The difference in area is due to the incorporation in 1941 and 1942 of twelve communes of the Belgian Cantons of Limbourg, Aubel and Vielsalm.

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II.—Virtually Incorporated Territories (*cf.* Note on page 21)

Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population in 000's	Relevant " Decrees "	Administration
1. " BEZIRK " (" GEBIET ") BIALYSTOK .. (Part of Polish Republic) Entered by Russian forces on July 13th, 1944	31,140	1,300 (1942)	Decree of July 22nd, 1941, placing the territory under civil administration. Decree of March 4th, 1942, incorporating B. in "Wehrkreis " I	Chief of Civil Administration : Erich *Koch*, Oberpräsident of East Prussia. The district was virtually incorporated into East Prussia on March 4th, 1942, with the status of a Regierungs-Bezirk, subdivided into seven " Landkreise " and " Stadtkreis " Bialystok.
2. LUXEMBOURG .. .. (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg)	2,586	300 (1941)	Decree of August 2nd, 1940, establishing civil administration. Decree of August 23rd, 1942, concerning nationality, and of August 30th, 1942, concerning military conscription	Chief of Civil Administration : Gustav *Simon*, Gauleiter of Mosselland (Party Gau). His task : " to regain this former German borderland for Germanhood." By decree of November 14th, 1940, subdivided into " Stadtkreis " Luxembourg and " Landkreise " Esch-Alzig, Diekirch and Grevenmacher, thus replacing the twelve Cantons of the Grand Duchy. Part of " Wehrkreis " XII. Thorough germanisation.
3. ALSACE .. .. (Part of French Republic, departments Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin)	8,294	1,200 (1940)	Decree of July 19th, 1940, establishing civil administration, and of August 25th, 1942, concerning nationality, of August 25th, 1942, concerning military conscription	Chief of Civil Administration : Robert *Wagner*, Reich Governor of Baden. Alsace has been virtually joined to Baden and divided into nine " Landkreise " and three " Stadtkreis." Thorough germanisation. Senior SS-etc. Leader for Baden and Alsace, Otto *Hofmann*, SS-Ogruf. Part of " Wehrkreis " V.
4. LORRAINE .. .. (Part of French Republic, department Moselle)	6,228	700 (1940)	Decree of September 21st, 1940, establishing civil administration. Military conscription has been gradually introduced since the autumn of 1942	Chief of Civil Administration : Josef *Bürckel*, Reich Governor of " Westmark." Virtually incorporated in " Reichsgau Westmark " Lorraine has been divided into six " Landkreisse " and " Stadtkreis " Metz. Thorough germanisation. Senior SS-etc. Leader including Lorraine and Luxemburg : *Stroop*, SS-Gruf. Part of " Wehrkreis " XII. Bürckel died in September, 1944. Successor : Wilhelm *Stöhr*.
5. SLOVENIA*				
(*a*) *Lower Styria* .. .. (Stadtkreis Maribor and six Landkreise)	6,782	552 (1942)	Treaty between Italy and Germany of July 8th, 1941	Chief of Civil Administration Dr. Siegfried *Uiberreither*, Reich Governor of Styria. Ruthless oppression of Slovene majority, including mass expulsions. Virtually incorporated into Reichsgau, Styria.
(*b*) *Upper Carniola* .. .. (Three Landkreise)	3,496	205 (1940)	Treaty between Italy and Germany of July 8th, 1941	Chief of Civil Administration : Dr. Friedrich *Rainer*, Reich Governor of Carinthia. Virtually incorporated into Reichsgau Carinthia. Ruthless oppression of Slovene majority, as above. Senior SS-etc. Leader for Slovenia : Erwin *Rösener*, SS-Ogruf.

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* *Note.*—Slovenia (*Dravska Banovina* of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was partitioned on July 8th, 1941 : Italy received 4,595 sq. km. and 305,000 inhabitants (prov. Ljubljana) and Hungary 950 sq. km. and 95,000 inhabitants. See also below IV, 7, V, 2, and VI 6 (*b*).

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III.—" Appended " Territories (*i.e.*, territories claimed as part of the " Greater German Reich ")

Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population 000's in	Relevant " Decrees "	Administration
1. " PROTECTORATE " OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA (Remainder of Czechoslovak Republic after Munich Agreement of September 9th, 1938). " Oberlandratsbezirke " in: Prague, Hradec Kralove (Königgrätz), Plzen (Pilsen), Jihlava (Iglau), Brno (Brünn), Morasvka Ostrava (Mährisch Ostrau), Budejovice (Budweis)	48,901	7,380 (1939)	Führer decree of March 16th, 1939 (RGB I, p. 584), Ordinance September 1st, 1939 (RGB I, p. 485) and May 7th, 1942 (RGB I, p. 329) Inclusion in German customs area on September, 1940 (RGB I, 1240)	Governed since August, 1943, by Reich Protector Dr. Wilhelm *Frick*, Reich Minister, subordinate to Hitler only. Local administration supervised by seven district inspectors (" Oberlandrat-Inspekteur "). The " autonomous " Czech Government (President *Hacha*) and Prime Minister *Krejci*) dependent on Reich Protector's instructions. The Presidents of the two Provinces (Bohemia and Moravia) are Czechs, the Vice-Presidents Germans, in whose hands the real power lies. The German population have been granted special privileges, such as German citizenship and German jurisdiction only. The " Protectorate " forms a special " Wehrkreis," the Military Commander being Gen. Rudolf *Toussaint*. Senior SS and Police Leader (also for " Sudetenland," I, 2): Karl Hermann *Frank*, SS-Ogruf. and German Minister of State, permanent deputy Reich Protector. Commander of Uniformed Police: Paul *Riege*, SS-Gruf. Commander of Security Police: Rudolf *Weinmann*, SS-Standartenführer.
2. " GENERAL GOVERNMENT " .. .. (Central and South-Eastern Provinces of the Polish Republic)	145,180	17,100 (1939) 16,958 (1942) 14,854 (1943)	Führer decree of October 12th, 1939 (RGB I, p. 2077) and decrees of July 17th, 1941, and July 22nd, 1941, whereby Eastern Galicia was attached to G.G. as from August 1st, 1941	The territory was originally called " General Government of the Occupied Territories of Poland." The name " Poland " obliterated on July 31st, 1940. The territory has been defined as a " Nebenland of the Reich " or " the Reich's own land in the East." Purely German administration. Governed by Governor General Hans *Frank*, Reich Minister, SS-Ogruf., subordinate to Hitler only. Deputy: Dr. Josef *Bühler*. The seat of the G.G. is in Cracow The Provinces (" Distrikte ") are subdivided into " Kreis- and Stadthauptmanschaften," with German " Kreis " or " Stadthauptmänner " at their head. Poles and Ukranians (Galicia) are employed in branches of lower administration. Germans have similar privileges to those in the " Protectorate. ' There were about 75,000 " ethnic " Germans in the territory in 1939. The G.G. forms a special " Wehrkreis," the military commander being General Siegfried *Haenicke*. Under Secretary of State for Security and Senior SS and Police Leader: Wilhelm *Koppe*, SS-Ogruf. Commander of Uniformed Police: *Grünwald*, SS-Brf. Commander of Security Police: Walter *Bierkamp*, SS-Of. Deputy Chief of " Arbeitsbereich der NSDAP ": Walter *Tiessler*.
Provinces (" *Distrikte* ")	Sq. km. 1.9.43	Inh. (000's) 1.3.43 (Compared to 1940)	*District Governors*	
Cracow	29,921	3,482 (—401)	Dr. Kurt v. *Burgsdorff*, SS-Gruf.	
Radom	24,431	2,387 (—300)	Ernst *Kundt*, SA-Of.	
Lublin	26.560	2,075 (—104)	Dr. Richard *Wendler*, SS-Gruf.	
Warsaw	17,168	2,699 (—384)	Dr. Gustav *Fischer*, SA-Gruf.	
Eastern Galacia (Lwow)*	47,100	4,201 (—1,103)	Dr. Gustav *Wächter*, SS-Brf.	

* Russian forces entered the district in March, 1944.

IV.—Occupied Territories

Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population in 000's	Basic " Decrees "	Administration	Leading German Personalities, etc.
1. DENMARK .. .. (Kingdom of Denmark)	43,000	3,825 (1940)	Invasion April 9th, 1940, coupled with promise to respect Danish independence (letter of General Kaupisch).	Under military occupation, with a control of civil affairs exercised by the German plenipotentiary. The Danish constitution is in principle maintained until August, 29th, 1943, when martial law was declared, the Danish army dissolved and the Military Commander took over. King Christian declared himself a prisoner and the Government resigned. The Danish Nazis are without influence on Government, but have recruited volunteers (the Schalburg-Corps) to fight in Russia. German minority in South Jutland strongly organised on Nazi Party lines.	German Plenipotentiary since November 5th, 1942 : Dr. Werner *Best*, SS-Ogruf. Chief German Police official since occupation : Paul *Kanstein*, SS-Brf. Delegate for Internal Affairs and Representative Himmler's : Günther *Pancke*, SS-Ogruf. Representative of the German Foreign Office : Christian *Barandon*. Military Commander since October 3rd, 1942 : General Hermann von *Hanneken*. Danish Prime Minister since November 9th, 1942 : Eric *Scavenius*, resigned with Cabinet. Chief of German Minority Department in Government (founded March 9th, 1943) : Rudolf *Stehr*. Leader of the German Ethnic Group: Jens *Möller*.
2. NORWAY .. .. (Kingdom of Norway)	322,600	2,921 (1940)	Invasion April 4th, 1940. Führer decree April 24th, 1940, concerning " Reichskommissar für die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete " (RGB I, p. 677).	German civil administration supervising an " autonomous " government goes hand in hand with military occupation and its special administration. Reich Commissioner has District Commissioners in Bergen, Trondheim, Narvik, Kirkenes, Kristiansund, Stavanger, Tromsoe, Lillehammer. There are three military districts corresponding to " Wehrkreis " : North, Central, South. The N.S. Hird formation assists occupation authorities. A Legion and various SS-units have been formed for the Eastern front.	Reich Commissioner : Josef *Terboven*, Gauleiter of Essen, Oberpräsident of Rheinprovinz, SS-Gruf. Senior SS and Police Leader : Wilhelm *Rediess*, SS-Ogruf. Plenipotentiary of the Reich : Dr. *Bräuer*. Military Commander : Col. Gen. Nikolaus v. *Falkenhorst*. A so-called Norwegian Government, based on " Nasjonal Samling " (NS) has been developed by stages : September 25th, 1940—nine Norwegian Commissioners appointed by Terboven ; September 25th, 1941—Commissioners given title of Minister ; February 1st, 1942—this becomes a Government with Vidkun *Quisling* as Minister-Präsident. Leader of AO : Hans Hendrik *Neumann*.
3. NETHERLANDS .. .. .. (Kingdom of the Netherlands)	34,794	8,829 (1940)	Invasion May 10th, 1940. Führer decree *re* " Reichskommissar für die besetzten holländischen Gebiete," May 18th, 1940 (RGB I, p. 778)	German civil administration supervising Dutch civil administration goes hand in hand with military occupation and its own administration. Civil administration : Reich Commissioner's office at The Hague with four commissioners-general for different departments. Executive in hands of Dutch Secretaries General. Eleven German Plenipotentiaries for the eleven Dutch provincial governors. German commissioners for large municipalities.	Reich Commissioner : Dr. Arthur *Seyss-Inquart*, SS-Ogruf, and Reich Minister. General Commissioner for Security and Police : Hanns *Reuter*, SS-Ogruf. Lt.-Gen. of Police Representative of German Foreign Office : Otto *Bene*. Military Commander : Friedrich *Christiansen*, General of Luftwaffe. Head of Military Administration : General Hans *Siburg*.

				Military administration: C.-i.-C. as head of "Wehrmachtsbezirk," "Luftgau" and "Rüstungsinspektion" Niederlande. Garrisons with "Ortskommandanturen." Port supervisory offices in each port. One German "Landgericht" and one "Obergericht," one "Kriegsgericht."	Chief of "Arbeitsbereich der NSDAP": Willi *Ritterbusch*. From February 1st, 1943, Alfred *Mussert*, Leader of the "National Socialist Beweging" (NSB) allowed to set up "secretariat of state" (not a government!) and to have influence in all local appointments. Formations of NSB assist occupation authorities; armed SS and voluntary legions formed for both service in Russia and in the Netherlands.
4. Belgium .. .. (Not including Eupen-Malmedy) (Kingdom of Belgium)	29,551	8,396 (1940)	Invasion May 10th, 1940. Law of May 10th, 1940, passed by Belgian Parliament, regulating administration in absence of government. Proclamation by German C.-in-C. of May 10th, 1943. Decree of July 13th, 1944, *re* "Reichskommisar für die besetzten Gebiete von Belgien und Nordfrankreich."	Under purely military administration which included French departments, Pas de Calais and Nord and supervised Belgian civil administration carried out by Belgian Secretaries-General. This system was replaced on July 13th, 1944, by introducing German civil administration on the model of Holland. Military Administration: Five "Oberfeldkommandanturen" in Brussels, Liége, Mons, Ghent (and Lille). One "Feldkommandantur" for each of the nine provinces, "Kreiskommandantur" for each arrondissement. The King of the Belgians, who considers himself a prisoner of war, was transferred to Germany in June, 1944.	Military Commander till July 13th, 1944: Gen. Alex. v. *Falkenhausen*. Replaced by "Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber für Belgien and Nordfrankreich' Gen. Martin *Grase*. Chief of Military Administration: Eggert *Reeder*. Superseded by Reich Commissioner Josef *Grohe*, SS-Gruf. and Party Gauleiter of Cologne-Aachen.* Representative of German Foreign Office: *Meyr-Falkenberg*. Leader of AO: Julius Reinhard *Koch*. Secretary General for the Interior: *Romsée*; for Economics: Victor *Leemans* are the chief quislings. Assisting in local administration: the Walloon Rexist movement led by Léon *Degrelle* and the "Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond" (VNV) led by Hendrik *Elias* and their formations including Armed SS units and voluntary legions, the latter fighting in Russia.
5. France (without Alsace and Lorraine) (French Republic) "*Occupied*" *Zone* .. .. "*Unoccupied*" *Zone*	 314,300 236,500	 28,300 (1940) 13,500 (1940)	Armistice Treaty of June 22nd, 1940. Occupation of Vichy France November 11th, 1942, Corsica and S.E. France (roughly east of the Rhone) was occupied by Italians until September, 1943. Corsica was liberated by French and other Allied Forces early in October, 1943. Liberation of Metropolitan France (Normandy) began on June 6th, 1944.	Military occupation whose administration supervises the French "autonomous" administration in occupied territories. Under the C.-i.-C. Five Military Districts in Paris, Dijon, Bordeaux, Angers, St. Germain, headed by Commandants. "Feldkommandanturen" in each Department, "Kreiskommandanturen" in each Arrondissement. Chief of the the administrative staff supervises civil French administration; Chief of the "Wehrwirtschafts- u. Rüstungsstab" ("Wi-Rü") controls economic life. Besides these bodies, the Armistice commission in Wiesbaden, with local comissions in France, influence French life.	Military Commander of France (excluding two northern departments): General Otto v. *Stülpnagel*. Commandant of Greater Paris: Lt.-Gen. Wilhelm, Baron v. *Boineburg-Lengsfeld*. Chief of the Administrative Staff: Dr. Jonathan *Schmid*, SA-Ogruf. and Minister of State of Württemberg. Senior SS and Police Leader: Karl A. *Oberg*, SS. Gruf. Chief of "Wi-Rü"; Lieut.-Gen. Franz v. *Barkhausen*. Representative of German Foreign Office: Otto *Abetz*, SS-Standartenführer. Special Envoy in Vichy: Cecil v. *Renthe-Fink*. Leader of AO of NSDAP: *Hubl*. Commander of Army Area Southern France: Lieut.-Gen. Heinrich *Niehoff*, H.Q., Lyons. Chef de l'Etat: M. le Maréchal Henri Philippe Pétain. Chief of Government in Vichy: Pierre *Laval* (since April 19th, 1942).

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* Reeder became Grohe's Deputy. Richard *Jungklaus*, SS-Gruf., was appointed Senior SS- and Police Leader on August 9th, 1944, and also *Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber* six days later, thus replacing *Grase*.

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IV—Occupied Territories—*continued.*

Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population in 000's	Basic " Decrees "	Administration	Leading Personalities, etc.
6. CHANNEL ISLANDS (United Kingdom)	194	93 (1931) 60 (1941)	Occupied July 1st, 1940. Order concerning law applicable to the English Channel Islands of August 23rd, 1940.	The Order of August 23rd, 1940, placed Channel Islands under the administration and jurisdiction of the Military Commander of France.	German C.-in-C. is Col. *Knackfuss*, in charge of 515 " Feldkommandantur." Civil Administrator (*Verwaltungs-Gruppenleiter*) of the Feldkommandantur: Landrat Dr. *Casper*, Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat.
7. YUGOSLAVIA The dismemberment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia has been carried out approximately as follows (Italo-German Treaty of July 8th, 1941).			Invasion April 6th, 1941. New frontiers announced December 29th, 1941.		
YUGOSLAVIA	247,542	15,900 (1938)			
Serbia (" autonomous ")	54,511	4,819 (1943)		(*a*) SERBIA Under military occupation. The Chief of Military administration supervises civil administration of " autonomous " government, Serbia is subdivided into fourteen " Okruži " one of which, the *Serb Banat* (9,216 sq. km. with 600,000 inhabitants) has received complete German autonomy, although the German " Volksgruppe " numbers 130,000. Capital of Serb Banat is Petrovgrad (Gross-Betschkerek). Early in 1942, the voluntary SS-Division " Prinz Eugen " was formed consisting mainly of Germans from the Serb Banat. Commander: Arthur *Phelps*, SS-Ogruf. and Gen. of the armed SS; now enlarged to a Corps.	Military Commander in Serbia: General Hans *Felber*. Chief of Military Administration: Dr. Harald *Turner*, SS-Ogruf. Senior SS- and PoliceLeader: August *Meyssner*, SS-Gruf. Representative of German Foreign Office: Dr. Hermann *Neubacher*, SA-Gruf.* Plenipotentiary for Economic Affairs: Franz *Neuhausen*, NSFK-Ogruf.† Chief of " autonomous " Serbian Government: Col.-General *Nedić* (since August 29th, 1941). Prefect of Serb Banat: Sepp *Lapp*. Leader of German Ethnic Group: Sepp *Janko*. Leader of the AO in Belgrade; Helmut *Krüger*.
Croatia (" autonomous ")	101,200	6,500 (1943)		(*b*) CROATIA Declared its independence under Italian patronage on April 10th, 1941. Treaties with Germany and Italy on May 13th and 18th, 1941, respectively. Special privileges for German Ethnic Group (160,000). After Italy's collapse annexation of Dalmatia (6588 sq. km. with 402,000 inhabitants). Croat-Bosnian Army SS-Division. Constant Partisan warfare.	Chief of State (" Poglavnik "): Ante *Pavelić*. Prime Minister: Nikola *Mandić*. German General Plenipotentiary: Lt.-Gen. Edmund v. *Glaise-Horstenau*. German Minister: Siegfried *von Kasche*. Senior SS- and Police Leader: Dr. Ferdinand v. *Sammern-Frankenegg*, SS-Brf. Leader of German Ethnic Group: Branimir *Altgayer*. Leader of AO in Zagreb: Rudolf *Empting*.
To *Germany*—					
From Slovenia	10,300	757 (1942)			
To *Hungary*					
From Slovenia: Prekomurje ..	950	95 (1941)			
From Croatia: Medjumurje ..	750	100 (1941)			
From Vojvodina: Bačka, Baranja	10,050	935 (1941)			
To *Bulgaria*—					
Macedonia	21,673	1,060 (1942)			
Pirot district	6,642	195 (1942)			
To *Italy* (until September, 1943)—					
From Slovenia, Ljubljana ..	4,595	305 (1942)		(*c*) LJUBLJANA—See V, 6 (*b*)	
From Croatia, Dalmatia, etc. ..	8,962	550 (1942)			
To *Albania* } under Italian administration (since September, 1943, under German occupation)§	12,645	750 (1942)			
Montenegro } under Italian administration (since September, 1943, under German occupation)§	13,031	330 (1941)			

§ *Albania's* size before 1941 was 27,539 sq. km. with 1,046,000 inhabitants.

Montenegro recovered the *Gorski Kotor* (*c.* 2,500 sq. km.) after the Italian collapse. Both regions are now nominally independent.

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* *Neubacher* is also Special Envoy for Economic Affairs in all Balkan regions.

† *Neuhausen* is also Chief of Military Administration " South East " under the C.-in-C. " South-East," Field-Marshal Baron von *Weichs*. The area " South-East " has not been officially defined, but certainly includes Albania, Montenegro and possibly Croatia for administrative purposes.

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Territory	Area in sq. km.	Population in '000's (Dec., 1938)	Relevant " Decrees "	Form of Administration
8. GREECE	129,880	7,109	Invasion April 6th, 1941	Greece has been divided for occupation purposes between Germany, Italy and Bulgaria. The Puppet Government led since April 7th, 1943, by Joannis *Rallis*, normally controls the whole country with the exception of (*a*) Bulgarian occupied territory, (*b*) Ionian Islands, (*c*) Aegean Islands. The following districts are under *German* military occupation :— (1) The Eastern part of Western Thrace bordering on Turkey, *i.e.*, that part of the province of Evros east of a line running north from Alexandroupolis. The German military commander is Rittmeister v. *Kleist*, with his H.Q. at Didimotikon. (2) The greater part of Macedonia and the Islands of Lemnos, Chios and Mitylene. The German military commander of the Area Salonika-Agaeis (H.Q. Salonika) is Lt.-Gen. Kurt *Pflugradt*. The garrison of Salonika and the different islands have their own military governors responsible to the Area Commander. There is also a Greek civil governor of Macedonia, *Simonides* appointed by the puppet government in Athens, but virtually independent and controlled by the German Kommandantur. (3) The Military Commander of Southern Greece (H.Q. Athens) controls since September, 1943, all the territory formerly occupied by Italy. He is General of the Luftwaffe Wilhelm *Speidel*. (4) The Commandant of the " Fortress " (Festung) of Crete is Lt.-Gen. of the Luftwaffe Bruno *Bräuer*. The Greek Governor-General, *Passadhakia* is in a similar position to that of Macedonia. (H.Q. Heraklion.) *Bulgaria* occupies the provinces of Seres, Kavala, Drama and Rodopi in Macedonia and Thrace and the islands of Samothraki and Thasos. This territory has been unofficially incorporated in " Greater Bulgaria." An " autonomous " government had been formed under General *Tsolakoglu* on April 30th, 1941. He was followed by Dr. *Logothetopoulos* on December 3rd, 1942, and by *Rallis* on April 7th, 1943. Germany exercises strong supervision and Himmler has his own Senior SS- and Police Leader : *Schimana*, SS-Gruf. Representative of the German Foreign Office is Dr. Kurt Fritz von *Graewenitz*, Leader of the AO is Dr. *Boerlinger*.
(Kingdom of the Hellenes)				
(*a*) Macedonia, except (*e*)	29,036	1,386	Occupied by *Germany*	
(*b*) Aegean Islands	3,900	338		
(*c*) Crete*	8,379	442		
	41,315	2,166		
(*d*) Thrace and Island of Samothrace	8,585	345	Annexed by *Bulgaria*	
(*e*) From Macedonia districts of Seres, Drama, Kavala and Island of Thasos	5,566	300		
	14,151	645		
(*f*) Thessaly	13,488	562	Under *Italian* occupation, until September, 1943, when occupied by German forces	
(*g*) Central Greece and Eubœa	25,132	1,799		
(*h*) Peloponnese	21,643	1,185		
(*i*) Epirus	9,552	363		
(*j*) Ionian Islands	1,947	231		
(*k*) Cyclades	2,649	147		
	74,411	4,287		

* The Lasithion province was occupied by Italian forces until September, 1943.

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9. TERRITORIES UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE REICH MINISTRY FOR THE OCCUPIED EASTERN TERRITORIES

(Occupied Russian Territories (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bielo-Russia and Ukraine and parts of Eastern Polish provinces)

The Ministry was created on November 17th, 1941, to administer all German-occupied Soviet territories. Head: Alfred *Rosenberg* (deputy Alfred *Meyer*) authorised to promulgate laws applying to the above territories. Deputy Chief of "Arbeitsbereich Ost der NSDAP," Friedrich Schmidt, Stabsleiter. The tasks of the Ministry include: "The opening up of war material resources, the increase of agricultural production, the construction of new roads and other means of communication, and the guidance of the population which had been enslaved by Bolshevism to a higher plane of living." Seat of Ministry in Berlin.

(*a*) The Reich Commissariat of *Ostland*. Capital, Riga. Governed by Reich Commissioner Hinrich *Lohse*, Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein, SA-Ogruf. (appointed as R.C. on July 17th, 1941).

General Districts of	Area sq. km.	Population (1943) in '000s	General Commissioners	Chiefs of " Autonomous " Administration introduced by Decree of March 20th, 1942
Estonia (Tallinn)	47,600	1,131	K. S. Lietzmann, SA-Ogruf.	Dr. Mäe.
Latvia (Riga)	65,800	1,994	Dr. O. H. Drechsler, SA-Brf.	General Dankers.
Lithuania, including Vilna district (Kaunas)	61,300	2,858	Dr. T. A. v. Renteln, Minister of Reichstag	General Kubiliunas.
" White Ruthenia " (Minsk)*	81,955	3,572	Kurt von Gottberg, SS-Gruf.	
	256,655	9,555		

Military Commander of Ostland: Lt.-Gen. Walter *Braemer*. Senior SS and Police Leader: Friedrich *Jeckeln*, SS-Ogruf.

(*b*) The Reich Commissariat of the *Ukraine*. Capital, Rovno. Governed by Reich Commissioner Erich *Koch*, Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia (appointed on August 20th, 1941). The whole territory was liberated by Russian forces between September, 1943, and April, 1944.

General Districts of	Area in sq. km.	Population (1943) in '000s	General Commissioners	Local Administration
Volhynia and Podolia (Luck)†	80,508	4,212	H. Schöne, SA-Ogruf.	The Reich Commissioner being unable to provide enough officials for every post, a " Ukrainian Auxiliary Administration " was formed (June, 1941). Members of the local population could hold positions of " Village Headmen " and of Mayors of rural and urban communities, also of District Chief, who was head of a " Rayon." Posts of Town Mayors, Regional Commissioners (several " rayons ") and Urban Commissioners were held by Germans.
Zitomir	64,800	2,917	E. L. Leyser, SS-Brf.	
Kiev	71,790	4,456	W. Magunia, Member of Reichstag	
Nikolaev	46,880	1,920	E. Oppermann, NSFK-Ogruf.	
Dnjepropetrovsk	52,397	2,743	K. Selzner, SS-Brf.	
Crimea (Taurida district only) (Melitopol)	22,900	662	A. E. Frauenfeld, Manager of the Reich Theatre Chamber	
	339,276	16,910		

Military Commander of Ukraine: General of the Luftwaffe Karl *Kitzinger*. Senior SS and Police Leader: H. A. *Prützmann*, SS-Ogruf.

Note.—All occupied territories not under the Administration of the above Reich Commissioners were termed "Military Bases" ("Rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet") under purely military administration, *e.g.*, the remainder of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, the Crimean Peninsula, parts of the Soviet Republic of Bielo-Russia, and of the provinces of Briansk, Orel, Novgorod, etc. The south-west part of the Ukrainian SS Republic, called Transdniestria (about 40,000 sq. km. with 2·5 million inhabitants), was administered by *Rumania*, as was the province of Bessarabia (44,000 sq. km. with 3 million inhabitants), which was ceded to the Soviet Union on June 28th, 1940. *Finland* had re-occupied most of the territories ceded to the Soviet Union by the peace treaty of March 13th, 1940.

* Composed of Polish voivodship of Nowogrodek, parts of Vilna and Polesie and parts of SS Republic of Bielo-Russia, Eastern boundaries not clearly defined.

† Composed of Polish voivodship of Wolyn and greater part of Polesie, also small slices of most westerly part of SS Republic Ukraine.

V.—Satellite Countries*

Country	Sq. km.	Inhabitants in '000s	Year of Census	Recent History	Personalities
1. SLOVAKIA Slovakia before independence ..	49,021	3,331	(1930)	On October 6th, 1938, autonomy of S. within the post-Munich Czecho-Slovak State; on March 14th, 1939, declaration of independence and the placing of the State "under German protection." The ethnic Germans (160,000) received special privileges and are governed by a special Secretariat of State. Besides the Fascist "Hlinka Party" (membership in 1938: 51,000) only the German Party is allowed. "Hlinka Guard" is the Slovak SA and Hlinka Youth its HJ, etc. A "fast division" fought in Russia. The country is a German military base. Risings broke out in Central Slovakia on August 28, 1944.	State-President: Father Dr. Joseph *Tiso*. Premier: Prof. Dr. Bela *Tuka*, replaced by Stefan *Tiso* on September 5, 1944. Deputy Premier, Interior and Commander of Hlinka Guards: Alexander *Mach*. Defence Minister: General F. *Catlos* (dismissed September 2nd, 1944.) German General in Slovak Defence Ministry and Head of Military Mission: Lieut.-Gen. *Schlieper*, replaced on August 12th, 1944, by Panzer General Dr. Alfred von *Hubicki*. Commander of the Protected Zone: Lieut.-Gen. of the Luftwaffe Karl *Barlen*. German Minister: Hans *Ludin*, SA-Ogruf. Leader of the German Ethnic Group: Franz *Karmasin*, Secretary of State. Leader of AO in Bratislava: Kurt *Rudershausen*.
Independent Slovak Republic after cession to Hungary of Slovak part of "Feldvidék" November 2nd, 1938*	38,055	2,709 2,692	(1938)† (1940)†		
* *c.* 250 sq. km. were ceded to Poland by treaty with Germany of November 21st, 1939. Slovakia received 770 sq. km. from Poland (see map facing p. 7.					
2. HUNGARY Trianon Hungary	93,073	9,314	(1941)	Though Hungary secured substantial territorial gains through her close links with the Axis between 1938 and 1940, she remained neutral under the Government of Count Paul Teleki (February, 1939 to April 3rd, 1941. After Teleki's suicide, his successor Bardossy led the country into the war against Yugoslavia (April 11th, 1941), and Russia (June 27th). The Anglo-Saxon powers declared war on Hungary in December, 1941. The government of Miklos Kallay (since February 2nd, 1942 steered) an uneasy course which was terminated by the occupation of Hungary by German forces on March 20, 1944. The new government of Döme *Sztojay* reinforced by Imrédy's Party of National Regeneration introduced measures such as the restriction of parliamentary activities, dissolution of Trade Unions, persecution of Jews and oppositional parties. After the change of régime in Rumania, the government of General *Lakatos* which excluded the Imrédists, marked a move away from the "March orientation." Rumania declared war on Hungary on September 9th, 1944. The German Ethnic Group, numbering about 900,000, received special status in 1940. Premier: Col. General Géza *Lakatos* (since August 30, 1944. Interior: Miklos Bonczos.	Regent: Admiral Nikolas *Horthy* (since 1920). Premier: Döme *Sztojay* (since March 22nd, 1944), former Minister in Berlin. Interior: Andor *Jaross*, replaced by Miklos *Bonczos* on August 7th, 1944. Leader of the "Arrow Cross": Ferenc *Szalasi*. German Military Commander in Hungary: Senior SS and Police Leader: Plenipotentiary of the "Greater German Reich": Dr. Edmund *Veesenmeyer*. Commander of the Armed SS in Hungary: Georg Keppler, SS-Gruf. Leader of the German Ethnic Group: Dr. Franz *Basch*. Leader of AO: Heinrich *Esp*.
"Feldvidék" from Czechoslovakia (November 2nd, 1938)	12,012	1,058	(1941)		
Remainder of Carpatho-Russia from Czechoslovakia (March, 1939) ..	12,061	698	(1941)		
Northern Transylvania from Rumania (August 2nd, 1940) ..	43,492	2,573	(1941)		
Bačka and Baranja from Yugoslavia (April 18th, 1941)	8,997	1,026	(1941)		
Mur District (Prekomurje and Medjumurje) from Yugoslavia (April and July, 1941)	1,704				
Satellite Hungary	172,028	14,669 14,934	(1941) (1944)		

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* For Croatia, see above IV, 7 (*b*).

† Foreign workers in Germany, then about 80,000, not included in census.

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V.—Satellite Countries—*continued*

Country	Sq. km.	Inhabitants in '000s	Year of Census	Recent History	Personalities (July 1st, 1944)
3. RUMANIA					
Versailles Rumania	294,967	18,025 19,934	(1930) (1939)	After King Carol's abdication, Marshal Antonescu, in collaboration with the " Iron Guard " (Leader: Horia Sima), invited German occupation which took place on October 14th, 1940. The Iron Guard was ousted on February 15th, 1941, and Sima fled to Germany. Antonescu proclaimed the " Legionary State " and full dictatorship. He entered the war against Russia on Germany's side on June 22nd, 1941. Anglo-Saxon declarations of war in December. Rumania regained temporarily the territories ceded to Russia in 1940 and in addition the region between Dnjestr and Bug, including Odessa (Transdniestra). Russian forces entered Old Rumania in April, 1944. The state is organised on Nazi lines, viz., the State Youth (Munca Timeretului Roman), Labour Front, etc. The German Ethnic Group (550,000) enjoys special privileges. Change of régime on August 23rd, 1944, declaration of war on Germany two days later, and armistice with Allies, September 12th.	Head of State: King *Michael I* (since September 6th, 1940). Premier: Marshal Ian *Antonescu* (since September 6th, 1940), assumed title of Conductor and C.-in-C. in February, 1941). Leader of Rumanian State Youth: General Emil *Palangeanu*. Head of German Military Mission: General Erich *Hansen*. German Minister: Manfred, Baron v. *Killinger* (since October, 1940). Cultural Attaché: Dr. Georg, Baron von *Gregory*, Ministerialrat. Leader of German Ethnic Group: Andreas *Schmidt*. Head of German Division in Ministry of Education: Dr. Gottlieb *Echerth*. Leader of AO: Ludwig *Kohlhammer*. Antonescu was deposed on August 23rd, 1944, and King Michael appointed General Constantin *Sanatescu* President of the Cabinet which included Iuliu *Maniu* and Constantin *Bratianu*.
Bessarabia to Russia (June, 1940) . .	44,422	3,173	(1939)		
N. Bukovina to Russia (June, 1940) . .	6,000	682	(1939)		
S. Transylvania to Hungary (August, 1940)	43,492	2,571	(1939)		
S. Dobruja to Bulgaria, September, 1940)	7,696	424	(1939)		
Territory lost in 1940	101,610	6,850	(1939)		
Satellite Rumania	193,349	13,827	(1942)		
4. BULGARIA					
Neuilly Bulgaria	103,146	} 6,705	(1941)	Boris III set up a personal dictatorship in April, 1935, and moved steadily into the Axis camp. Fascisisation was increased by the appointment in February, 1940, of Gabrovsky as Minister of the Interior. On March 1st, 1941, Bulgaria adhered to the Tripartite Pact and allowed the entry of German troops. She partook in the aggression against Yugoslavia and Greece from April 13th, 1941, and annexed large provinces of both countries, but stayed neutral in the German-Russo war. Gabrovsky was not included in the Cabinet of Dobri Bozhilov which was formed after King Boris' death. Since June, 1944, there were two governments before the formation of a National Front which declared war on Germany and asked for an armistice with the Allies after Russia had declared war on September 5th.	Head of State: King *Simeon II* (since August 28th, 1943). Regents: Prof. Venelin *Ganev*, Tsvetko *Boboshevski* and Todor *Pavlov* (replacing Prince *Cyril*, Prof. *Filov* and Gen. *Mihov* on September 9th). Premiers: Ivan *Bagrianov* (June 6th to September 2nd, 1944), Konstantin *Muraviev* (Sedtember 2nd to 8th), Kimon *Georgiev* (since September 9th). German General in Bulgaria: Maj.-Gen. Franz *Neumayr*. Commandant of Sofia: Maj.-Gen. Kurt *Hübner*. German Minister: Adolf Heinz *Beckerle*, SA-Ogruf. (since August, 1941). Leader of AO: Dr. Josef *Drechsler*.
S. Dobruja (from Rumania)	7,696				
Macedonia (from Yugoslavia) . .	21,673	1,060	(1941)		
Pirot District (from Yugoslavia) . .	6,642	195	(1941)		
Aegean province (from Greece) . .	14,151	646	(1941)		
Satellite Bulgaria	153,308	8,606 8,775	(1941) (1943)		
5. FINLAND					
Finland after 1918	382,801	3,667	(1930)	After the " Winter War " (November 30th, 1939 to March 12th, 1940), relations with Russia remained strained and in May, 1941, the Finnish Government secretly allowed Germany to build up military bases in N. Finland. On June 16th, she left the League of Nations and, nine days later, entered the war against Russia. Finland adhered to the Anti-Commintern Pact on November 11th, 1941, and has been at war with Great Britain since December 7th, but not with the United States. Internally, Finland has kept aloof from Nazi ideas and, although she annulled formally the Treaty of Moscow on November 11th, 1941, she has sought an *approchement* ever since the fall of	President: Risto *Ryti* (since December 19th, 1940); succeeded by *Mannerheim* on August 6th, 1944. Premier: Prof. Edwin *Linkomiees* (since March 5th, 1943); replaced by Anders W. *Hackzell* on August 8th, 1944. Deputy and Finance: *Vino Tanner* (dismissed on August 8th, 1944). C.-in-C.: Field Marshal Carl Gustav, Baron v. *Mannerheim*. Chairman of Finnish SS-Volunteer Committee: Prof. *Nevanlinna*. German Minister: Dr. Wipert v. *Blücher*. Head of German Military Mission: General Waldemar *Erfurth*. C.-in-C. of German Army in Lapland (XX Army): Col.-Gen. Eduard *Dietl* (died June 23rd, 1944). Successor: Col. Gen. *Rendulic*.
Territory ceded to Russia in 1939 . .	36,400	c. 400			
Census, December 21st, 1940 . .	346,401	3,891	(1941)		

				Stalingrad, but Paasikivi's mission (February to April) failed, the Russian terms being declined and a pact with Germany was concluded on June 25th. Change of régime on August 6th, 1944, armistice with Allies, September, 1944.	Leader of AO : Wilhelm *Jahre*.
6. ITALY Italy (1918/41)	310,177	42,993 45,536	(1936) (1942)	The unconditional surrender of Italy on September 3rd, 1943, was followed by German occupation of all territories not in allied hands. Mussolini after his escape from captivity (September 12th) made himself the head of a "Fascist Republican Government."	Head of Fascist Republican Government : Benito *Mussolini* German C.-in-C. : Field Marshal of the Luftwaffe Albert *Kesselring*. Senior SS and Police Leader in Italy : Karl *Wolff*, SS-Gruf. Leader of AO : Dr. Emil *Ehrich*.
Gains from Yugoslavia 1941/43) ..	13,557	855			
(*a*) *Alpenvorland* (consisting of) : ..	17,276	893		A German Supreme Commissioner was appointed at the end of September, 1943, to "secure the proper attitude, peace and order in the districts south of the Brenner." A special court was set up in Bolzano and a Court of Appeal (*Appellationsgericht Trient*) at Trento. Measures applied point at intention to annex. 200,000 South Tyrolians of German origin live in the province of Bolzano.	Oberster Kommissar : Franz *Hofer*, Reich Governor of Tyrol-Vorarlberg. Prefect of the Province of Bolzano : Dr. Karl *Tinzl*. Prefect of Trento : Franz *Bertolini*. Prefect of Belluno : Italo *Foscht*.
Bolzano	7,086	276	(1936)		
Trento	6,516	395			
Belluno	3,674	222			
(*b*) *Adriatisches Küstenland* (consisting of) :	20,601	2,055	—	A Supreme Commissioner was appointed at the end of September, 1943. The zone also included Southern Slovenia annexed by Italy in 1941 and renamed the *provincia di Lubiana*. The chief task of the Commissioner was said to be the "abolition of the strained national and social relations which always existed in this region." About 620,000 Slovenes live in this zone.	Supreme Commissioner : Dr. Friedrich *Rainer*, Reich Governor of Carinthia and Chief of Civil Administration in Upper Carniola. Supervisor for Planning and Adjustment : Dr. Cino *Cosolo*. Regional Peasant Leader : Reinhold *Huber*, and Head of Agricultural Section. President of the Provincial Administration of Ljubljana : Gen. Leo *Rupnik* (a Slovene). German Commissioner for Trieste : Landrat Dr. *Hinteregger*.
Ljubljana	4,595	305	(1942)		
Fiume (Carnaro)	1,121	109	(1936)		
Pola (Istria)	3,718	307			
Trieste	1,279	370			
Gorizia	2,725	205			
Udine (Friuli)	7,163	759			

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CHAPTER II

Table I.—Nazi-Dominated Europe. Statistical Data

I.—TERRITORIES INCORPORATED INTO GERMANY SINCE 1935

Territory	Year of In-corporation	Sq. km.		Population (in '000s) 1939	
Germany, 1933		468,621		68,617	
Saarland	1935	1,924		842	
A.—Germany, 1938 (January 1)		470,545		69,459	
1. Austria	1938	85,764	112,735	6,760	10,168
2. Czech territory (" Sudeten " area)	1938	28,971		3,408	
B.—Germany, 1938 (November 20th)		583,280		79,627	
3. Memelland	1939	2,416	97,338	155	10,659
4. Danzig	1939	1,893		391	
5. Polish Territory annexed	1939	91,973		10,044	
6. Eupen, Malmédy, Moresnet	1940	1,056		69	
C.—*Germany*, 1940		680,618		90,286	
7. " Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia "	1939	48,901	194,081	7,380	24,522
8. " General-Government "	1939/41	145,180		17,146	
(*a*) Boundaries of 1939	1939	98,080		11,842	
(*b*) Eastern Galicia, 1941	1941	47,100		5,304	
D.—*Territories under Chiefs of Civil Administration*					
9. Luxembourg	1940	2,586	58,548	301	3,477
10. Alsace	1940	8,294		1,219	
11. Lorraine	1940	6,228		696	
12. Lower Styria	1941	6,800		550	
13. Upper Carniola	1941	3,500		205	
14. Bialystok	1941	31,140		1,500	
Total of Annexations	1939/41		462,702		48,820
Germany Proper	1938		470,545		69,459
E.—" Greater Germany," 1942			933,247		118,279

II.—GERMAN-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

(except " Operational Base in Russia "), September, 1943

Territory	Year of In-corporation	Sq. km.		Population (in '000s) 1939	
A.—15. " Reich Commissariat Ostland "	1941	256,655	595,931	9,555	26,465
16. " Reich Commissariat Ukraine "	1941	339,276		16,910	
B.—17. Denmark	1940	43,000	1,051,189	3,825	77,147
18. Norway	1940	322,600		2,921	
19. Holland	1940	34,794		8,829	
20. Belgium (without 6)	1940	29,551		8,396	
21. France (without 10 and 11)	1940/42	550,800		41,800	
22. Channel Islands	1940	194		93	
23. Serbia	1941	54,511		4,819	
24. Greece (except part annexed by Bulgaria)	1941/43	15,739		6,464	

III.—THE SATELLITES

Territory	Year of In-corporation	Sq. km.		Population (in '000s) 1939	
25. Slovakia (1940)	—	38,055	1,510,161	2,653	103,378
26. Croatia (1941)	—	101,200		6,500	
27. Hungary* (1941) (occupied March, 1944)	—	172,028		14,669	
28. Rumania† (1941)	—	283,000		19,250	
29. Bulgaria* (1941)	—	153,308		8,606	
30. Finland (1941)	—	382,801		3,864	
31. Italy* (1941) (Occupied September, 1943)	—	321,360		45,536	
32. Albania* (1941) (Occupied September, 1943)	—	42,538		1,800	
33. Montenegro (1941) (Occupied September, 1943)	—	15,900		500	
German controlled Europe outside " Greater Germany "			3,157,281		206,990
" Greater Germany "			933,247		118,279
German-controlled Europe			4,090,528		325,269

* Including territory annexed from Yugoslavia and, in the case of Bulgaria, from Yugoslavia and Greece.
† Including " Transnistria," annexed from Russia

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Table II.—Changes Inside Germany through Annexations. Statistical Data

(Gains by Annexation are shown in *italics*)

Administrative Units *Reg.* denotes Regierungsbezirk		Before Annexation		On Jan. 1st, 1941.			
		Size in sq. km.	Population in '000s (Census 1939)	Size in sq. km.		Population in '000s Census 1939	
1. *Province of East Prussia*		36,992	2,488	52,731		3,338	
Reg. Gumbinnen		9,399	559	14,658		831	
Add Stadtkreis Memel	Memelland from Lithuania	—	—	*30*		*43*	
Add Landkreis Memel		—	—	*814*	*2,416*	*31*	*155*
Add Landkreis Heydekrug		—	—	*872*		*52*	
Add Landkreis Pogeggen*		—	—	*700*		*29*	
Add Landkreis Suwalki (from Poland) ..		—	—	*2,480*		*117*	
Reg. Allenstein		11,520	568	12,011		593	
Add Dzialdowo (Soldau) territory†	from Poland	—	—	*491*		*25*	
Add *Reg. Ciechanow*		—	—	*12,914*		*854*	
Subtract *Reg. Westpreussen*‡		2,927	302	—		—	
2. *Province of Upper Silesia*		9,715	1,533	20,636		4,341	
Reg. Oppeln		8,627	999	11,712		1,374	
Add Hlucin District (Czech)§		—	—	*335*		*53*	
Add parts of Polish Silesia		—	—	*2,751*		*326*	
Reg. Katowice		1,088	534‖				
Add parts of Polish Silesia		—	—	*6,373*	*7,835*	*2,147*	*2,432*
Add District Tesin (Czech)¶		—	—	*1,462*		*285*	
3. *Rhine Province*		24,479	7,916	25,535		7,983	
Reg. Aachen		3,127	770	4,183		836	
Add Landkreis Eupen		—	—	*229*	*1,056*	*28*	*67*
Add Landkreis Malmédy		—	—	*827*		*39*	
4. Prussia		293,637	41,508	321,525		45,508	
Add Hlucin		—	—	*335*		*53*	
Add Memelland		—	—	*2,416*		*155*	
Add Polish territory		—	—	*26,472*		*3,755*	
Add Eupen-Malmédy		—	—	*1,056*		*67*	
5. *Bavaria*		*76,037*	*8,132*	*77,785*		*8,223*	
Reg. Niedbbayern-Oberpfalz.		20,349	1,471	22,097		1,562	
Add Ldkr. Bergreichenstein	annexed Czech terr., 14.4.1939	—	—	*463*		*19*	
Add Ldkr. Markt Eisenstein**		—	—	*535*	*1,748*	*33*	*91*
Add Ldkr. Prachatitz		—	—	*750*		*39*	
Reg. Schwaben							
Territory from Tyrol and Voralberg (Austria) by decree, 1.10.39***		—	—	*104*		*2*	
6. *Upper Austria*		12,446	938	*14,216*		*1,035*	
Add Ldkr. Kaplitz††	Annexed Czech terr., 14.4.39	—	—	*930*	*1,770*	*48*	*97*
Add Ldkr. Krummau		—	—	*1,840*		*49*	
7. *Lower Austria*		21,326	1,509	*23,502*		*1,698*	
Add Ldkr. Neubistritz	Annexed Czech terr., 14.4.39	—	—	*424*		*19*	
Add Ldkr. Nikolsburg		—	—	*787*	*2,176*	*78*	*189*
Add Ldkr. Znaim		—	—	*965*		*92*	
8. " *Reichsgau Sudetenland* "		—	—	*22,608*		*2,943*	
Add *Reg. Aussig* (Usti)		—	—	*7,293*		*1,329*	
Add *Reg. Eger* (Cheb)‡‡		—	—	*7,467*		*803*	
Add *Reg. Troppau* (Opava)		—	—	*7,348*		*811*	
9. " *Reichsgau Danzig-West Preussen*		2,927§§	302§§	26,057		2,287	
Add *Reg. Bydgoszcz* (*Bromberg*)		—	—	*7,426*		*594*	
Reg. Danzig		514‖‖	114‖‖	9,891		1,022	
Add Free Town of Danzig		—	—	*1,893*		*391*	
Add parts of Polish Pomorze		—	—	*7,483*		*517*	
Reg. Marienwerder		2,412¶¶	188¶¶	8,741		672	
Add parts of Polish Pomorze		—	—	*6,382*		*484*	
10. " *Reichsgau Wartheland* "		—	—	*43,905*		*4,693*	
Add *Reg. Hohensalza* (Inowraclaw)		—	—	*14,440*		*1,162*	
Add *Reg. Litzmannstadt* (Lodz)		—	—	*14,045*		*2,242*	
Add *Reg. Posen* (Poznan)		—	—	*15,420*		*1,289*	

---

* On October 1st, 1939, divided between Ldkr. Tilsit-Ragnit and Heydekrug.

† In Kreis Neidenburg.

‡ In Reichsgau Danzig-WPR.

§ Incorporated in Kreis Ratibor, April 14th, 1939.

‖ Before 1939 in Reg. Oppeln.

¶ 1938 annexed by Poland.

** Kreis boundaries were changed on July 1st, 1940 and parts given to Waldmünchen. (***) Parishes of Jungholz (Tyrol), 209 inhabitants and Mittelberg (Vorarlberg) 2,209 inhabitants.

†† Kreis Kaplitz lost parish of Reiterschlag (2,001 inhabitants) and 56 sq. km. to Ldkr. Rohrbach (July 18th, 1939).

‡‡ Seat in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad).

§§ Before October 26th, 1939, this area was Reg. Bez. West-Preussen of Prov. of E. Prussia.

‖‖ Before October 26th, 1939, part of above.

¶¶ Before October 26th, 1939, part of above.

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CHAPTER III

GERMANISATION

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NOTE.—The following survey does not give a detailed account of the resistance movements, nor of the persecution of the Church in the occupied territories. It does not deal with germanisation carried out in Austria, the "*Reichsgau* Sudetenland" and Eupen-Malmédy, as this has been so complete that conditions in these territories are the same as those in Germany proper. The regions covered by the former Reich Commissariats have not been considered, although attempts at germanisation there have been considerable. A short survey of the development of the "Sudeten" problem up to 1938 will be found in a special annexe.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This chapter deals with the germanisation of German annexed and appended territories which had a predominantly non-German population before 1939. The term "German," in this and the next chapter, as distinct from "Reich German," refers not to a person of German nationality, but to a person who speaks the German language as his mother tongue, though he is a national of another State. A similar distinction arises in the case of other minority groups, such as Ukrainians, Slovenes and Alsatians. The figures mentioned for the different "nationalities" have been checked by comparing the official census records of the respective countries with German claims made before 1933. Where considerable differences have occurred, they have been noted in the text.

There is, however, still some doubt as to the meaning of the term "German," since a member of a German minority in any of the countries concerned may not be of "German blood" in the Nazi sense of the term. Czechoslovak or Polish nationals of Jewish faith or of partly Jewish extraction may, for instance, have registered their mother tongue as German, and thus have belonged automatically to the German minority. The Nazi government would not recognise them as being of "German blood," but readily accepted the increase in numbers which their registration brought about. The same confusion prevails with regard to the term "ethnic Germans" (*Volksdeutsche*), so that the number of repatriated "ethnic Germans" should be treated with reserve. Frequently more *Volksdeutsche* were repatriated than were recorded as existing in the territory concerned. This is due to the fact that dissatisfied elements and quislings availed themselves of the opportunity to adopt German nationality with the connivance of the Nazi security authorities. Finally, the application of all these terms in this and the following chapter in no way indicates an acceptance of the underlying political or racial conceptions expounded by the Nazi theorists.

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CHAPTER III

A.—GERMANISATION IN THE TERRITORIES INCORPORATED IN THE "GREATER GERMAN REICH"

I.—Introduction

1. *Treatment of Racial Minorities under the Weimar Republic*

By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost the greater part of its "racial" minorities. According to German statistics, 2,600,000 Poles and "Masovians," 205,000 French, 125,000 Danes, and 67,000 Lithuanians, in addition to 1,634,000 German-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers, became subjects of adjacent countries. In 1925, the following statistics were published of German citizens speaking a foreign language as their mother tongue; a distinction is made between those who were bi-lingual and mono-lingual*:—

Polish alone	214,115
German and Polish	507,721
	721,836

Of these 195,883, plus 384,572 in Upper Silesia,† and 26,408 plus 54,308 in the Ruhr District.

"Masovian" alone	49,926
German and "Masovian" ...	31,172
	81,098

Almost all in the southern districts of East Prussia. "Masovian" is a Polish dialect.

Lithuanian alone	2,751
German and Lithuanian ...	2,860
	5,611

In the north-eastern districts of East Prussia, especially on the *Kurische Nehrung.*

Danish alone	5,222
German and Danish	2,289
	7,511

Mostly in the northern districts of the Province of Schleswig-Holstein.

Czech alone	10,795
Czech and German	9,983
	20,778

Mostly in the mountainous border fringes of Silesia, Saxony and Bavaria, around the Bohemian plain.

Wendish alone	62,462
Wendish and German ...	9,967
	72,429

A Slavonic tribe south of Berlin, inhabiting the "Spreewald" and the district of Lausatia.

Altogether, there were about 950,000 foreign language minorities in the Republic in 1925 (576,000 who used a foreign language and German as their mother tongues, 374,000 who used a foreign language only). This compares with 5,000,000 in Imperial Germany, or 6,650,000 including the German-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers.

The treatment of the minorities left in the German Republic was laid down by the Weimar Constitution. Racial differences between citizens of the Reich did not affect their privileges, as "all Germans are equal before the law, and all men and women have on principle the same civic rights and duties" (Art. 101). The "foreign-language-speaking citizens of the Reich" (*fremdsprachigen Volksteile*), however, were guaranteed their "free national development, especially in the use of their mother tongue and also in schools," and promised that they would not suffer any disability with regard to internal administration and justice (Art. 113). In addition, the Poles in Upper Silesia were protected by the minority treaty concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations between Germany and Poland on May 15th, 1922. It expired in 1937.

2. *Foreign Population of the Incorporated Territories*

The territories incorporated into "Greater Germany" by decree were inhabited by the following non-German peoples. (Only approximate figures can be given on the basis of the situation prevailing in 1939):—

Poles and other Slavonic (and Jewish) inhabitants in Eastern annexed territories (including Bialystok)	10,721,000
Lithuanians in Memelland	75,000
Czechs in "Sudetenland," Hlučin and Těsin	500,000
Slovenes in "Upper Carnolia" and "Lower Styria"	900,000
French-speaking Belgians in Eupen-Malmedy	35,000
Luxemburgers	280,000
French-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers	500,000
German-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers	1,110,000
Non-German minorities in Austria...	176,000
	14,297,000

Thus, of the 24,288,000 people incorporated into Germany, almost 60 per cent. were non-Germans; even when allowing for the German-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers as "German" minorities within the Republic of France, well over 50 per cent. of the annexed territories were of non-German origin.

3. *The Administrative Machine for Germanisation*

The avowed object of the German administration in all these regions was to stamp out the non-German character of the population by completely germanising those selected to become full Germans, and by dispossessing, mentally crippling, and finally deporting and annihilating those parts of the population which were undeniably of non-German stock, outlook and character. The same fate was also in store for those of German stock who were unwilling to accept the methods, aims and ideology of the Nazi régime.

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* "*Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches,*" 1932, page 15.

† According to German census of 1933, they had declined to 90,193 plus 266,375. This census, of course, is much less reliable than the 1925 census.

The agents of germanisation were :—

(*a*) The indigenous ethnic Germans, or *Volksdeutsche.*

(*b*) Reich Germans brought in as administrators, business men or agricultural settlers.

(*c*) Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) not indigenous to the territory concerned, but " re-settled " from territories in Eastern or South-eastern Europe and from Southern Tyrol. In the same way, exchanges have also taken place from one annexed territory to another.

On October 7th, 1939, Hitler made the Reich Leader SS and Chief of the German Police, Heinrich Himmler, responsible for germanisation in all territories already annexed, or to be annexed. Himmler thus became *Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums* (Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanhood). The Central Office for this purpose, at Berlin-Halensee, Kurfürstendamm 140–142, comprises the following departments :—

(i) *Völkische Planung und raumordnende Massnahmen* (Racial Planning and Land Adjustment).

(ii) *Volkstum* (Germanhood). Mainly concerned with *Leitung des Menscheneinsatzes* (population movements).

(iii) *Ausgleich von Schadensfällen.* Compensation for loss suffered by Germans as a result of the Treaty of Versailles.

(iv) *Finanzhauptabteilung* (Chief Finance Department).

(v) *Zentralbodenamt* (Central Land Office, survey of land).

(vi) *Siedlungsdurchführung* (Settlement of Populations).

(vii) *Wirtschaftshauptabteilung* (Chief Economic Department).

(viii) *Oberster Prüfungshof für Volksangehörigkeitsfragen in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten* (Supreme Court of Investigation into National Questions in the incorporated Eastern Territories).

(ix) *Statistische Abteilung* (Statistical Department).

(x) *Pressestelle* (Press Department).

(xi) *Stabshauptamt* (Chief Staff Department).*

(xii) *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (Ethnic German Arbitration Bureau).

For the practical execution of all population movements, the last-named department is the most important ; the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle,* which has absorbed the old *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (Reich Emigration Office), is headed by SS-*Obergruppenführer* Werner Lorenz, who is simultaneously President of the *Volksbund der Auslandsdeutschen* (League of Germans Abroad), about which more will be said in Chapter IV A. III.

As germanisation has been regarded as a matter for the police, the SS has been placed in charge of all practical issues arising from the measures ordered by the Reich Commissioner.

In the territories concerned, regional commissioners (*Beauftragte des Reichskommissars für die Festigung des deutsche Volkstums*) have been appointed. In all cases these are the appropriate Senior Police and SS Leaders in the military districts. Those concerned with germanisation in the annexed territories are :—

1. Suwalki, Ziechenau and Bialystok.—George Ebrecht, Acting Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* I (Königsberg).

2. " Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen."—Richard Hildebrandt, Acting Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* XX (Danzig) until 1943. Later Chief of the *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS* (SS Head Office for Race and Settlement). Successor : Friedrich Katzmann, SS-*Gruppenführer.*

3. " Reichsgau Wartheland." —Wilhelm Koppe, Acting Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* XXI (Poznan) until the end of 1943. Successor : Heinz Reinefahrt, SS-*Brigadeführer.*

4. Upper Silesia and Reg. Bez. Opava (Troppau), " Reichsgau Sudetenland."—Ernst Heinrich Schmauser, Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* VIII (Breslau).

5. *Reg. Bez.* Aussig (" Sudetenland ").—Udo v. Woyrsch, Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* IV (Dresden), but transferred to Himmler's personal staff. Successor : Rudolf v. Alvensleben, SS-*Gruppenführer.*

6. *Reg. Bez* Cheb (Eger) (" Sudetenland ").—Benno Martin, Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* XIII (Nuremberg), SS-*Gruppenführer.**

7. " Lower Styria " and " Upper Carniola." —Erwin Rösener, SS-*Gruppenführer* (HQ at Maribor).

8. Eupen-Malmedy. — Karl Gutenberger, SS-*Gruppenführer,* Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* VI (Münster).

9. Luxembourg and Lorraine.—Stroop, SS-*Gruppenführer,* Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* XII (Wiesbaden and Metz). Predecessor up to November, 1943, Berkelmann, who died in Poznan in December, 1943.

10. Alsace.—Otto Hofmann, SS-*Obergruppenführer,* Senior SS and Police Leader in Wehrkreis V (Stuttgart). Was Hildebrandt's predecessor in the SS Head Office for Race and Settlement (see above, 2).

There is close collaboration between the Central Office of the Reich Commissioner, the VDA and the Re-emigration Office of the Foreign Organisation of the NSDAP, and between the regional commissioners and the different regional and local Party organisations. The executive agents of the regional commissioners are the *Regierungspräsidenten, Reichsstatthalter* and *Landräte* in the regions concerned.

II.—The Incorporated Eastern Territories

1. *The Confiscation of Polish Property*

Not only has State property been confiscated in favour of the German Reich, but also every individual Pole in the *Reichsgaue* " Danzig-Westpreussen " and " Wartheland " and in the districts annexed to East Prussia and Upper Silesia, was deprived of all property after the Germans had marched in. All immobile property was placed under the administration of *Treuhänder* (trustees). As long as this property was not required by Germans—either Reich Germans from Germany, or *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) from

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* Head : SS-*Obergruppenführer* Ulrich Greifelt.

* The post of Senior SS and Police Leader for the whole of " Reichsgau Sudetenland " was given to K. H. Frank, SS-*Obergruppenführer* and Deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia in February, 1944, thereby replacing the above three officials.

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the eastern and south-eastern countries—Poles could remain in their dwellings and had to pay rent for them; they could also continue to pursue their occupations. Once their property was taken over by the Germans, these Poles were deported and not allowed to take more than a fraction of their personal and mobile belongings; no furniture could be moved. Polish Jews received still harsher treatment; they were herded together in provisional ghettos, where they had their own administration and police, but the majority were ultimately removed to Central Poland ("General Government") where they have been eliminated in large numbers during the years 1942, 1943 and 1944.* The "General Government" was also a reception area for those Poles deported from annexed territories and not sent to Germany as foreign workers.

Hand in hand with this expropriation of all Polish property went the germanisation of Polish industry and agriculture, by the taking over of industrial and business establishments, farms and estates either by the German State or German industrial firms.

2. *Deutsche Volksliste* ("German People's List")

The problem of de-polonisation of the eastern areas was, however, not so simple as it may have appeared immediately after the conclusion of the Polish campaign in 1939. It was soon discovered that there were not enough Germans to re-populate these areas, particularly as the prospects of a rapid victory receded. This state of affairs led to a decree by Himmler dated March 4th, 1941, establishing a *Deutsche Volksliste* ("German People's List"). Any Polish citizen who had some remote German ancestry or affiliation could apply for inclusion in this list. There were four different categories of prospective German nationals as laid down in the decree:—

> Class I.—People whose "Germanism" was undoubted and who had stood by it actively under Polish rule.
>
> Class II.—People whose German origin was undoubted, but who had not taken part in the struggle against Polish rule.
>
> Class III.—People who by ancestry were qualified to be German, but who were under strong Polish influence or who had entered into racial ties with Poles (*e.g.*, mixed marriages with the German partner "dominant").
>
> Class IV.—People who declared their readiness to become Germans, but about whom insufficient information was available. They could become Germans "on trial."

Classes I and II were to receive *Reichbürgerschaft* (Reich citizens) immediately. Class III was to receive *Staatszugehörigkeit* (State-membership) by naturalisation with the possibility of its withdrawal later; they were classed as *Deutsche unter Vorbehalt* (Germans on approval), while Class IV was declared *Probedeutsche* (Germans on trial) who received provisional German State-membership for a number of years, after which a final decision would be made. Both Classes III and IV had to undergo a thorough "re-education" in the Nazi sense. Their children are taken away from them and educated in special camps. Adults had to take part in language courses and adult educational courses and were constantly supervised by Party officials. Although they receive better wages and rations than the remaining Poles, they were subject to the duties implied in the granting of German state-membership, *e.g.*, conscription for the Armed Forces and Labour Services, the payment of Party dues, etc. Himmler and the SS have established *Zweigstellen* (local boards) for the interrogation of applicants and investigation of their antecedents in conjunction with *Landräte* and chief mayors. Appeals against their decision can be made at *Bezirksstellen* (district boards) set up for each *Regierungsbezirk* and a final appeal to the *Oberster Prüfungshof für Volksangehörigkeitsfragen in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten* (Court of Investigation into Racial Questions in the Annexed Eastern Countries) affiliated to Himmler's Consolidation Office in Berlin.

One board of appeal, for instance, the District Board Zichenau of the German People's List, consisted of the *Regierungspräsident*, one representative each of the Party Gau leadership, the Gestapo and the Reich Commissioner SS, a doctor who acted as an expert on "biological-racial" questions, and two indigenous ethnic Germans. Interesting examples have been reported of the work of this board. For instance, a German woman who had married a Polish officer had insisted on a German wedding, the German baptism of their child and its German education, and had taught her husband the German language. Reward: admission to Class II. The husband (a pure Pole) was "believed to have become a good and convinced German in time, particularly as his biological value was above the average." Reward: Release from prisoner of war camp and admission to Class III. But a German girl student who, as late as 1940, had married a Polish student and asked the Polish Roman Catholic priest to consecrate the marriage because the evangelical German pastor had declined to do so, was refused admission even to Class IV. "Through this illegal marriage contract," the report said, "the applicant has severed all links with her people. There is no return for her." A miller, who had been placed into Class III and who in 1942 applied to be upgraded into Class II, was refused because the fact came to light after long investigation that the family had spoken more Polish than German at home and had spoken German only during the years of occupation.

This policy of de-polonisation called *Eindeutschung* meant a considerable departure from the basic Nazi theories. Immediately before the war, on August 19th, 1939, Hitler had declared in a speech to SS and SA teachers in Godesberg:—

> "I reject the idea of germanisation by our people of foreign folk and peoples, since this could never result in a reinforcement and strengthening but at most only in a weakening of the racial core of our people."

Accordingly, a difference of opinion arose between the different governors imposed upon the annexed territories, especially between Bracht of Upper Silesia and Forster of "Danzig-Westpreussen" on the one hand and Greiser of "Wartheland" on the other. The first two were "moderates" in as much as they advocated the "recovery of every drop of German blood for the German Reich" and were prepared to accept as Germans all and sundry, *e.g.*, people who had German relations in Germany proper or who formed a "Polish branch of a family that had declared itself German under Polish rule." Family records, they pleaded, did not matter, but only "political outlook, working capacity and even household

---

* 670,000 Jews lived in the annexed Polish areas in 1939. Sixty thousand fled to Central Poland "during hostilities; 300,000 to 400,000 are estimated to have been deported up to the end of 1943.

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cleanliness," putting all their faith on "re-education." The conclusion was that "citizenship is granted to the meritorious not for their merits, but because their merits prove their German ancestry." Greiser, however, assisted by Himmler, pleaded for a more radical policy, which would germanise the annexed territories by means of Reich and ethnic Germans only. Thus Himmler proclaimed in August, 1942 :—

> "It is not our task to germanise the East in the old sense, *i.e.*, to teach the people there the German language and German law, but to see to it that only people of purely German and Germanic blood live in the East."[*]

As a result, different policies were applied in the different provinces. Greiser preferred the immigration of Reich Germans and ethnic Germans into the "Wartheland," to the *Eindeutschung* of Poles. He therefore resorted to the "People's List" only reluctantly. When he recently granted "preliminary" German nationality to members of Class III of the List, he stressed that this early naturalisation must be "merited by an attitude worthy of a German, especially by service at the front or work at home" and denied that it indicated a change in his former *Volkstum* policy.[†]

Gauleiter Bracht in Upper Silesia pursued a different policy. He originally declared that the mixed population of the districts of Oppeln and Katowice had been under German cultural influence for centuries and could not therefore be regarded as Polish. When the setting up of the People's List was decreed in March, 1941, Bracht favoured its application in the widest possible sense. In fact he exercised strong pressure on the Polish population to apply for admission to the List. As the result was still unfavourable early in March, 1942, he fixed March 31st as the final date for application, and declared that those who had not applied by that date "plainly disclaim admission to the German national community and must be fully aware of the fact that they will be treated in future as non-Germans." He also admonished all applicants to learn German as quickly as possible and demanded that they should "abstain from any unnecessary intercourse and sever all connections with those not entered in the German People's List."[‡]

Forster in "Danzig-Westpreussen" followed similar lines. He revived an old-established German practice of differentiating between Poles and those inhabitants of Pomorze who speak Polish dialects such as Kashubian or Masovian. These were immediately declared Germans unless they openly declared themselves Poles. Later on, the rules of the German People's List were applied here too, but very irregularly.

The result of this policy is difficult to assess. By threats, inducements, and promises many Poles were persuaded to apply for inclusion in the lists. This act in itself saved them from having their property confiscated, their livelihood taken away and from being deported at twenty-four hours' notice, at least so long as a decision had not been issued by the proper boards. There was, however, also very considerable resistance.

According to German sources, the policy of the *Volksliste* had the following result :—

(*a*) *Danzig-Westpreussen*

The Gau had about 2,300,000 inhabitants by 1940. Of these, roughly 600,000 Germans lived in territory that had belonged either to the Free City of Danzig or to the *Regierungsbezirk* Marienwerder (Westpreussen), which was part of East Prussia. According to Polish sources, roughly 200,000 ethnic Germans lived in the annexed province of Pomorze. This leaves 1,500,000 Poles.

A statement issued by Forster on October 23rd, 1942, said that one million people had been declared Germans. Of these 600,000 are accounted for above. One hundred thousand were either immigrant Reich Germans or "re-settlers" from the east. Two hundred thousand were placed in Class I or Class II of the People's List as being ethnic Germans of Polish nationality. One million were declared to belong to the "mongrel race of the Kashubians," of which 100,000 were admitted to Class III; in 900,000 cases inquiries had to be made into the family history, these applicants being provisionally placed in Class IV. The remainder consisted of 300,000 "hopeless Congress Poles"—officials, tradesmen and farmers who had been settled in the Gau by the Poles between 1919 to 1939.

A year later, in November, 1943, it was stated that 600,000 "'polonised' human beings had been found to be of German origin" and had now been given temporary membership of the German Reich as "their racial appearance and moral and intellectual qualities had permitted this," but it was admitted that there were still 700,000 "Poles" left in the Gau. Gauleiter Forster had promised the "Führer" that he would "make it a truly German Gau within a period of ten years." Therefore, every person declared Polish would have to be expelled by 1950 at the latest. All this means that by the end of 1943, 1,600,000 people or double the number that had been in the territory in 1939, were considered to be Germans, 600,000 of them having been placed in Classes III and IV of the German People's List.

(*b*) "*Wartheland*"

The Gau, consisting of purely Polish territory, had some 4,700,000 inhabitants by 1942. Before the annexations there were about 456,000 ethnic Germans in the Gau according to German sources, *i.e.*, 220,000 in the *Voievodship* of Poznan and 236,000 in the *Voievodship* of Lodz, although Polish figures are decidedly lower.[*] These 456,000 will all have been put in Class I and II of the People's List. By the end of 1942, about 305,000 settlers from Eastern and South-eastern Europe had been brought into the Gau, making a total of 760,000 Germans. This figure includes 20,000 ethnic Germans from Bosnia who arrived in thirty-six goods trains of twenty trucks each with 40,000 pieces of luggage in December, 1942, and were then deposited at a collective camp at Zgierg, near Lodz.[†] But by May, 1943, the number of Germans in "Wartheland" was stated to be 850,000, by March, 1944, one million and by September, 1,200,000. The increase is partly explained by the resettlement of 240,000 to 300,000 ethnic Germans from the Ukraine and Black Sea areas during the German retreat.[‡] The remainder consist of Reich Germans brought

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[*] In the periodical "*Deutsche Arbeit*" quoted by DNB, August 6th, 1942. Himmler's journal "*Das Schwarze Korps*" of September 26th, 1942, called this article the "exclusive programme of a man who by it does nothing but forge the Führer's will into deeds."

[†] "*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*," Poznan, February 8th, 1944.

[‡] The proclamation was published in the "*Kattowitzer Zeitung*," March 8th, 1942.

[*] "*Kölnische Zeitung*" of September 22nd, 1943, strangely enough said that there had been only 60,500 ethnic Germans in the "Wartheland" in 1939, a figure much lower than the Polish claims.

[†] "*Marburger Zeitung*," Maribor, December 30th, 1942 (Marburg in Slovenia).

[‡] See below C., p. 66 ff.

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in as political and economic administrators and business men and of people admitted into Class III and IV. In the last class only 70,000 had been admitted at the beginning of 1943. Thus, although no figures have been published as to the remaining Poles, they must still form a body of some 3,500,000.

(c) *Upper Silesia*

The incorporated Polish territory comprised 2,760,000 inhabitants in 1940, of whom only 118,000 were ethnic Germans; 96,000 of the latter resided in territory that had belonged to Germany before 1918 (the *Voievodship* of Silesia), 18,000 in the Tešin District (Czechoslovac until September, 1938), and 4,000 in the eastern belt of the territory detached from the *Voievodships* of Cracow and Kielce. Very little "colonisation" has been carried out in this territory; hardly more than 25,000 to 30,000 ethnic Germans have been brought in from eastern and south-eastern Europe and at the outside some 50,000 from Germany Proper as officials, business men, etc. So the Reich and ethnic Germans together would not exceed 200,000, of whom only 150,000 can be regarded as permanently resident. As to the "People's List," Bracht stated on January 25th, 1943, that 1,500,000 had applied for inclusion and that 900 to 1,000,000 were considered to "possess the necessary racial qualifications and outlook for acceptance into the body of the German people," *i.e.*, Classes III and IV. In spite of this, there would still be more than two million Poles left in the incorporated parts of the province.

(d) *Polish Territories Annexed by East Prussia*

The four territories annexed to East Prussia (Suwalki, Dzialdowo, Ciechenow and Bialystok), comprising some 2,350,000 inhabitants, are so completely Polish that no more than 25,000 ethnic Germans lived in these regions before the annexations. The few (3,800) from Bialystok had been evacuated to Prussia after the Russians occupied the territory in September, 1939. There may have been some 5,000 ethnic Germans in Dzialdovo (part of East Prussia before 1918); there were a handful in the Suwalki District and about 20,000 in the newly created *Regierungsbezirk* "Ziechenau" (the Germans claim 3 per cent.).

The present state of affairs is difficult to estimate. Twenty thousand Germans were reported to have been resident in the Bialystok District at the end of 1942, which would amount to 1·5 per cent. of the population. No settlement of ethnic Germans seems to have taken place. With regard to Ciechanow, an integral part of "Greater East Prussia," the settlement of 39,000 ethnic Germans from Lithuania was reported by the middle of 1941; the first gift each settler received was the "Führer's" portrait and a people's wireless set. More than 30,000 had, however, been sent back in 1943. Plans have been laid to settle 750,000 Germans which would amount to the replacement of the whole Polish population. The "People's List" has been applied to these territories also, but no details on the response of the Polish population are known.

(e) *The Memel Territory*

The resident inhabitants of Lithuanian stock received, together with the indigenous ethnic Germans, German State membership on the official incorporation of the area into East Prussia, which took place on March 28th, 1939. The same decree introduced the German administrative and judicial system into the territory. A geographical reshuffle which took place in 1941, destroyed the area as an administrative entity and gave parts of it to *Landkreise* situated in Germany proper.

3. *Colonisation*

(i) *Numbers involved*

Thus "colonisation" and "depolonisation" have been the main instruments of population policy in all these areas. The former was the original idea of making the annexed territories "German land." The Reich itself, immersed in the war, was quite unable to carry out any such policy; it would have been equally unable to do so in peace time as the alleged over-population of Germany was nothing but a myth. The remedy had to be, in addition to the application of the "People's List," the enforced settlement of ethnic Germans living abroad.

This movement started with treaties concluded with the Russian Government after the division of Poland in September, 1939, and further acquisitions of Poland's western borders. Soviet Russia was eager to dispose of politically and economically powerful German minorities in the newly acquired territories. The ethnic groups involved had been settled for centuries in :—

1. The Baltic Republics, in 1939 about	140,000
2. Eastern Galicia	55,000
3. Volynia	65,000
4. The districts of Cholm and Lublin	30,000
5. Bialystok	3,800
6. Northern Bukovina	45,000
7. Bessarabia	90,000

A treaty with Rumania on October 22nd, 1940, provided for the transfer of ethnic Germans from the Southern Bukovina (45,000) and the Dobruja (14,500), and a similar Treaty with Croatia on October 10th, 1942, for the transfer of ethnic Germans from all districts south of the River Sava (*i.e.*, chiefly Bosnia), involving roughly 26,000 people. Thus about 560,000 people were at Hitler's disposal, and for these he returned to the treaty powers an unspecified number of foreigners from German or German-annexed territories. The South Tyrolese peasants and ethnic Germans from Northern Croatia were not destined for the eastern annexed territories and will therefore be dealt with in another section.

It is difficult to estimate the effects of these transfers to the eastern territories. There is no doubt that the claim made in April, 1943, that "3,700,000 Germans have found new homesteads in Wartheland, West Prussia and Upper Silesia,"* cannot be borne out by any available evidence. The only reliable statistics were issued for mid-September, 1942, as follows :—

"Wartheland" received	223,085	273,776
"West Prussia" ...	29,921	
Upper Silesia	13,724	
Greater East Prussia ...	7,046	
Germany Proper ...	99,016	
Total	372,792	

By April, 1943, altogether 751,460 people had been registered with the Chief Trustee Holding Company, but it is impossible to gain a clear picture of their distribution. Firstly, the population movement continued. For instance some 20,000 Bosnian Germans arrived in the "Wartheland" at the end of 1942, and in September, 1943, a huge new mass movement began of Germans escaping from the Ukraine and the Black Sea area into Germany. The gross total was stated to be 350,000 by June, 1944, of whom some

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* Transocean report, April 15th, 1943.

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240,000 were "settled" in the "Wartheland."* Secondly, the number of Reich Germans transferred to Eastern territories has never been officially published. A plan existed in 1941 to settle compulsorily 400,000 small holders from Württemberg and Baden in the Eastern territories. It appears, however, that only a very few agricultural settlers have really been transferred from Germany Proper, although the number of administrators and business men was considerable. The following figures for April, 1944, are therefore, only a very rough estimate :—

"Wartheland"	305,000	settlers from East and South-east Europe, including Bosnia.
	240,000	settlers from the Ukraine and Black Sea area
	100,000	Reich Germans
West Prussia ...	50,000	
Upper Silesia ...	80,000	
East Prussia ...	50,000	

This would account for 800,000 people in the whole of the Eastern incorporated territories which, apart from "Wartheland," may lately have absorbed another 100,000 from the Ukraine and the Black Sea area.†

(ii) *Organisation of Re-settlement*

The special task of evacuating ethnic Germans from different countries and re-settling them in "German space" was given to SS-*Obergruppenführer* Werner Lorenz, head of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (see above, p. 39).

The evacuated people, who had to give up their homes and land whether they wished to or not, were, after most difficult journeys, first placed in collective camps (*Sammellager* or *Auffanglanger*) run by the SS. Conditions in these camps often resembled the worst described in concentration camps. One of the chief activities was training in Nazi ideology. The evacuees were sifted and those people who were regarded as completely "denationalised" were sent to Central Germany to be "re-educated in purely German surroundings." At the same time the *Mittelstelle* opened settlement offices in all reception areas; these district offices worked with staffs from twenty-five to forty, half of whom were Party officials, the other half agricultural experts who had to produce a register of all existing farms, map them out, examine the soil and prepare new settlements. The Polish or foreign owners were then expelled and the ethnic Germans received their pieces of land, usually larger than they had had at home, owing to the combination of several Polish dwarf farms. These farms were very often more than the new and technically backward *volksdeutsch* farmer could manage, especially when either he or his sons were unexpectedly called up for the Forces or Labour Service. Thus the success of the agricultural settlement has not been so spectacular as the official leaders would have the world believe. Farmers were not the only people to be settled. One set of statistics stated that out of 555,107 settlers at the end of 1942, only 297,082 were gainfully employed. Of these gainfully employed persons only 186,627 or 63 per cent. were engaged in agriculture; 60,063 or 20·5 per cent. were in industry and crafts; 24,381 or over 8 per cent. in commerce and transport; 15,559 or over 5 per cent. in public service and the professions, and 6,147 or 2 per cent. in domestic service. This meant that out of roughly 300,000 gainfully employed persons, over 100,000 or 36 per cent. had to be placed with their families in other than agricultural occupations. This explains the fact that out of the 80,000 "Germans" reported to be resident in Poznan in 1943, no less than 70,000 were ethnic German "settlers," *i.e.*, engaged in administration, small trade, industry, business and the professions. For this group also, conscription proved to be an unexpected hardship.

To overcome current difficulties, ambitious schemes were held out as an inducement. Thus, when planning for the future settlement of 750,000 Germans in the Ciechanow District, the following plan was proposed by the Reich Commissioner:

Each village was to have thirty-five to forty farms (70 per cent. of which were to be entailed), with 400 to 500 agricultural workers. Eight to ten villages were to be attached to a *Hauptdorf* (main village).

The main village was to be the seat of administration, the centre for improving agricultural methods and processing agricultural products, and was to have a *Hauptschule* and a cinema. Several such main villages, each with about 5,000 people, would form a *Landkreis*.

4. *Methods of Germanisation*

The chief method of full germanisation was, of course, administrative, *i.e.*, the complete introduction of the administrative and judicial system of Nazi Germany, and the exclusive use of the German language for official purposes. Hand in hand with this went a new geographical sub-division of the territories into *Regierungsbezirke*, *Land-* and *Stadtkreise*, the imposition of the German financial, economic and labour administration, and the occupation of all the numerous offices by Germans, 90 per cent. of whom were transferred from the Reich, the remainder being indigenous ethnic Germans. No Pole was allowed to hold public office. A new type of official was created; the "special leader" (*Sonderführer*) was employed in the lower grades of administration, especially in economic matters. In many districts commissars (*Amtskommissare*) took the place of the *Landräte*, and it was their task to pave the way for the full introduction of the German Local Government Act. According to Reich German standards, the administration of the annexed territories in the east would demand some 650,000 public servants, 260,000 of them being civil servants of the higher grade, but complaints of the shortage of administrators have been frequent. For the training of officials, the system of "Administrative Academies" was extended to the incorporated territories. There was an academy in Danzig, with branches in Bydogoszc and Grudiadz; one in Poznan, with branches in Lodz and Inovraclav; and one in Katowice. The German police system and military administration were, of course, introduced; two new *Wehrkreise* (XX and XXI) were created for West Prussia and "Wartheland" *Wehrkreise* I (Königsberg) and VIII (Breslau) being enlarged by the addition of the territories annexed.

Superimposed upon the administrative structure was that of the Party and its formations. "Wartheland" had forty Party *Kreise*, 671 local branches, 2,416 "cells" and 10,341 "blocks," which entailed the employment of some 14,000 Party officials (*Amtsträger*) in that particular territory.

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* "*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*," July 12th, 1944.

† See also below, C, "The Repatriation of Ethnic Germans.

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Apart from these, the Party formations, especially HJ, Labour Front and SA, extended their tentacles over the whole field of social and educational activities. In June, 1943, it was stated that the Party had held 10,000 meetings, with audiences of 250,000,000 Germans, since the beginning of 1940, which would mean that each meeting was attended by about 2,500 persons.

In the educational field, German schools, including crèches, were opened, and higher education was reserved entirely for Germans. All Polish children had to attend the elementary German schools, though strictly separated from German children. By July, 1924, 2,000 elementary schools, with 175,000 children and 3,500 teachers, had been opened in the "Warthegau"; the corresponding figures for 1935 in this region were 3,800 schools and 630,000 children. The Germans set up one thousand agricultural vocational schools, with 44,500 pupils. The twenty-three secondary schools, with 3,575 pupils and 323 teachers (all German) compare with ninety schools and 18,000 children in 1935. Poznan, for instance, had twelve secondary schools, two of which were entirely reserved for ethnic Germans; now it has four for Germans, none for Poles. The large town of Lodz had only two schools left, against twenty-one in 1935, of which one was for the German population.

Besides the normal secondary schools, *Napolas* and German State Boarding Schools, run by the SS, were opened in all incorporated territories, except Ziechenau and Suwalki. The most striking feature is, however, the development of the University of Poznan, which was re-opened in 1941 as a *Reichsuniversität* for German students only. It began with 200 students, and claims to have had 1,228 students in the summer term of 1944, whereas in 1937, as the Polish university, it had 4,000 students. Research in this institute concentrated on agriculture, settlement problems and "racial research"; there was no theological faculty; the staff was recruited from all over Germany, and from the Baltic region.

Special efforts were made to educate re-settlers and germanised Poles by the *Volksbildungswerk*, the organisation for adult education run by the German Labour Front to achieve "racial transformation (*Umvolkung*) by incorporating into the German community people of preponderately German blood." It was discovered that not only Poles placed in Classes III and IV, but even settlers and indigenous ethnic Germans were unable to speak German to any great extent. Thus it was found necessary to open a special Reich Language School in Bydgoscz "to bring the Germans of the area a little closer to German life," and it was stressed that the majority of older civil servants had to go to school again. The students (who were treated in a "military" manner) attended courses at the Language School lasting four weeks.

Another not unimportant means of germanisation has been the de-polonisation of place names, and their replacement by German-sounding names. In the "Wartheland," the classical Gau for germanisation, 1,200 names had been changed by May, 1943, but complaints were made about the difficulty of re-naming all the 15,000 localities, and special directives were issued on how to proceed so as to complete the task with the utmost speed. All sorts of German roots were found in Polish names, such as Dietmar in Dziencinowo; Pawlowo has been changed into Paulsfeld, and, by translation, Korzeniew into Wurzelrode, while Grochowiec was changed to Grauchel by way of "assimilation."

Only a few examples can be given of economic germanisation. Four main State-run companies exist to dispose of Polish property that has been confiscated:—

(i) *Haupt Treuhandstelle Ost*, abbreviated H.T.O. (Chief Trustee Office, East) with its seat in Berlin and supervised by Göring as Plenipotentiary for the Four Years' Plan. The central office had regional offices in the provincial capitals (*e.g.*, *Leitstelle Kattowitz*), branch offices in the capitals of *Landkreise* (*e.g.*, *Zweigstelle Saybusch*), and district offices in rural towns (*e.g.*, *Bezirksstelle Sucha*). The task of the company was to dispose of industrial and trade establishments. The chief inspector was Max Winkler, and there were under his care at the beginning of 1942 230,000 industrial and commercial establishments and 250,000 plots of urban property, together representing a value of 50,000 million Reichsmarks.

(ii) *Grundstücksgesellschaft der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost*, abbreviated G.H.T.O. (Real Estate Company of the H.T.O.)—This also had its seat in Berlin and corresponding district offices in the provinces, and disposed of all dwelling houses and farms up to three acres.

(iii) *Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschafts G.m.b.H.*, abbreviated *Ostland* (East German Agricultural Holding Company.—This limited company founded by Göring in February, 1940 (its name was changed in 1942 to *Reichsgesellschaft für Landbewirtschaftung m.b.H.*, abbreviated *Reichsland*), also worked under the supervision of Göring with headquarters in Berlin. It administered all agricultural property above three acres. It had regional offices in the capitals of the eight *Regierungsbezirke* affected; 80 *Kreis* offices, controlled by district farmers (*Kreislandwirte*), supervising numerous local farmers (*Ortslandwirte*), of whom "Wartheland" alone had 2,748 in June, 1942. All these were Germans. They supervised the management of all confiscated farms, of which there were in all 500,000. Three thousand three hundred large estates (over 100 hectares) were confiscated and supervised by 4,250 agents (*Betriebsleiter*). Altogether 4 million hectares of land (1 million of which consist of large estates) were thus germanised.

(iv) *Deutsche Umsiedlungstreuhandgesellschaft* (German Re-settlement Trustee Company).—This company had to regulate all economic and financial questions regarding confiscated property after its handing-over to the new German proprietor. It also dealt with the drafting and execution of treaties concluded with foreign states regarding the re-settlement of Germans. The central offices were in Berlin. It had four external offices in Riga, Reval, Bolzano* and Bucharest, which negotiated the evacuation of settlers from their native lands, and four internal offices at Poznan (with a branch at Lodz), Danzig, Katowice and Innsbruck,* which negotiated the settlement in reception areas. It was also active in Luxembourg (see p. 48).

Recipients of confiscated property were:—

(*a*) German and ethnic workers. Far more than half of all Polish industrial trading and artisan establishments were closed because they were declared "valueless."† Thus, out

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* For the re-settlement of South Tyrolese Germans, see below, Chapter IV, p. 92.

† *E.g.*, out of 2,600 textile enterprises in the Lodz district, 1,900 were closed as being "unproductive."

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of a total of 130,000 commercial establishments in "Wartheland" 100,000 were closed, 12,000 of these establishments and over 10,000 artisan shops were held by the company in reserve for disabled soldiers and ex-soldiers after the war; the greater part of the remainder became German property.*

(*b*) Reich German officials who were given dwellings, and Reich and local administrative authorities, which received premises as offices.

(*c*) Indigenous ethnic Germans who received more and better land than they formerly possessed, and re-settlers. Some 10,000 farms were reserved in "Wartheland" for disabled or returning soldiers or members of the Hitler Youth who, while on Land Service with the SS, decided to become *Wehrbauern* (Defence Peasants). In this scheme other "Germanic" youth groups such as Dutch, Danes, Flemings, etc., could also participate. (For Land Service see Part II, Chapter XIV, page 447.) Some 250 disabled soldiers were settled with great ceremony. Thus, the attempt was made to transform these territories by germanisation, into a "*Bauerwall*" ("Wall of Peasants") against the east and to buttress this wall by a corresponding germanisation of trade and industry.

5. *The Fate of the Poles*

The remaining Poles were again sub-divided. In December, 1942, those Poles who "for the last three years have demonstrated by their conduct their will to collaborate loyally and whose achievements equal those of German workers in the same jobs" were enlisted by Greiser in a *Verband der Leistungspolen* ("Association of Efficient Poles"). Together with their families they were granted equal treatment with Germans as regards wages, food rations and social policy. At the same time, Greiser stressed that this step did not change the racial distinction between Germans and Poles. It is not known whether this form of inducement has been introduced into other annexed territories, nor are the numbers of those enlisted in "Wartheland" known. All Poles were made *Schutzangehörige des deutschen Reiches* ("Protected members of the Reich") (decree of March 4th, 1941). As such they possessed "restricted rights of citizens of the Reich," but "not the rights of German nationals, in particular not their civic rights."

Deportation of Poles was continued on a large scale. Some 1,200,000 were sent to the reservations in the "General Government" and the number murdered is impossible to assess. Two to three million were deported to Germany as foreign workers. However, at least 7 million Poles still lived in the annexed areas; they were deprived of the most elementary rights of a civilised people, especially of the right to a higher education. Only elementary school education was granted to them and this only according to Nazi dictated syllabi; they were forced to learn the German language, and in some districts (*e.g.*, West Prussia) the use of Polish was completely forbidden. Trade and agricultural schools were created not for the benefit of the Poles, but in order to make them efficient manual workers. The "sharp dividing line" drawn between Germans and Poles was expressed *inter alia* by separate tramcars, restaurants, and railway carriages.†

On the whole, German policy in the annexed German territories was a failure, and resulted in chaos and confusion. The extermination of the Polish population, upon which the would-be conquerors were bent, proved impossible for economic reasons. The enforced germanisation (*Eindeutschung*) of roughly two million Poles cannot have been anything but a sham victory. The settlement of some 750,000 ethnic Germans from distant areas created insurmountable difficulties, and caused strife between indigenous and immigrant Germans, between the members of the different classes of "Germans," and probably also between the two classes of Poles. High above them all were the administrators, Party officials and business men brought in from the Reich. On the other hand, new "racial" dilution took place through the influx of foreign workers. Members of thirty-four different nations were employed within the compass of the Danzig Labour Office in January, 1944, including French, Dutch, Italians, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians. Moreover, the territory was a reception area for bombed-out people from the Reich, and for refugees from the eastern territories overrun by the Russian armies.

III.—German-Annexed Slovenia

The incorporated eastern territories served as an experimental ground for the germanisation of other border districts, and the same main principles were adopted elsewhere. The methods employed in the Slovene districts of Yugoslavia annexed by Germany were especially stringent and cruel. As in Poland, the final aim was the annihilation of a whole nation.

Slovenia was partitioned between Germany, Italy and Hungary. Germany's share was then sub-divided into three parts—*Untersteiermark* (Lower Styria), *Oberkrain* (Upper Carniola) and *Süd Kärnten* (Southern Carinthia). The last, at first part of the *Oberkrain* region, was incorporated into Reichsgau Kärnten in 1942. The task of the new administrators was to form these "regained territories into a southern bastion of the Reich, so closely bound to it that they could never be torn away." The territories were regarded as German soil, on which the Slovenes were considered as intruders.

1. *The Nationality Question*

According to German statistics, there were about 40,000 ethnic Germans among the 905,000 inhabitants before the invasion, 33,000 in Lower Styria, and from 5,000 to 7,000 in Upper Carniola. It has been claimed that between 1919 and 1939 the Yugoslav government had forced 49,000 Germans to emigrate—41,000 from Lower Styria and 8,000 from Upper Carniola. During that time, ethnic Germans all over Yugoslavia were organised in the Swabian-German Cultural Society (*Schwäbisch-Deutscher Kulturbund*), although, according to a German source,* only 1·5 per cent. of all ethnic Germans in the two territories had joined this association.

Shortly after the annexation in May, 1940, the old organisation was dissolved and two new ones founded—the Styrian Home League (*Steirischer Heimatbund*) for Lower Styria, and the Carinthian People's League (*Kärntner Volksbund*) for Upper Carniola. The success of these organisations which, according to the initial appeal for members, were to be "the political organisations of all those who confess their allegiance to Führer and Reich," was startling. In a few days, it was reported,

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* These figures were published by the "*Völkischer Beobachter*," July 27th, 1944.

† "*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*," Poznan, September 5th, 1943.

* "*Kölnische Zeitung*," January 1st, 1943.

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323,807 Lower Styrians, or 95 per cent. of all over fourteen years of age, and 113,000 Upper Carniolians, or 97 per cent. of all over eighteen, had applied for membership. The reason for this can be found in the nationality law, issued for these territories by the Ministerial Council for the Defence of the Reich on April 14th, 1941, the official day of annexation. According to this the following differentiation was made between the inhabitants:

(i) People who receive German nationality (*Staatszugehörigkeit*),* and with it enjoy full legal rights. Only those who are of undoubtedly German race and German loyalty, for which the exclusive test is the permanent membership of one of the two leagues (symbolised by a red membership card).

(ii) People who receive provisional German nationality (*Staatsangehörigkeit auf Wiederruf*). This is granted to those who are regarded as having cultural affinities to the Reich, and can be educated to become politically reliable citizens. A condition for provisional State membership is knowledge of German and provisional membership of one of the two leagues (symbolised by a green membership card).

(iii) Persons protected by the Reich (*Schutzangehörige*), *i.e.*, persons unreliable on racial or political grounds, who have no civic rights.

The pattern of this division follows closely the lines of the "German People's List" in the eastern incorporated territories. The results have been made public for Lower Styria only. According to a statement made on the second anniversary of the annexation, 27,059 persons had been made permanent members of the Home League, and thereby acquired German nationality; 415,694 persons were nationals on probation and provisional members of the League, while 83,365 persons "for racial or political reasons" were classed as inhabitants protected by the Reich.† At the same time, the total population figure was given as 551,610, so that 25,000 persons remain unaccounted for. 18,000 more were transferred from the second to the first list at the end of 1943. No such figures have been made available for Upper Carniola.

2. *Colonisation*

To strengthen the core of indigenous ethnic Germans, "re-settlement" was also resorted to in this region. An agreement was concluded with Italy on October 18th, 1941, according to which all Germans in the then Italian-annexed province of Ljubljana were to be transferred to the German annexed regions. This referred especially to the German colony round Kočevje (Gottschee), which had been settled in the wooded area between Ljubljana and Fiume for 611 years. By April 9th, 1942, 15,800 of them had been transferred to the banks of the river Sava, which runs parallel to the southern frontier of both Upper Carniola and Lower Styria. Germans from Bessarabia and the Dobruja, as well as from Bolzano and the Italian Val de Canale, were also said to have been settled in Lower Styria. Although no precise figures have been issued, they probably number a few thousand only. The figure of 2,400 South Tyrolese peasant families has been mentioned for Carinthia. Quite lately, Black Sea Germans have arrived. Thus, 60 families with altogether 360 members were in or near Celje (Cilli) as farm labourers in April, 1944; 33,000 of them had been collected in thirty-six camps in the Gau Styria, and found a "provisional" home there. Again, it is impossible to say how many were located in Lower Styria.

The methods of colonisation were the same as in Western Poland. Responsible for the "re-settlement" was Himmler's representative, Rösener, whose central settlement office was in Maribor (Marburg). Local committees worked in the capitals of the different *Landkreise* of both regions.

3. *Methods of Germanisation*

Apart from the administrative germanisation described in Chapter II, political and cultural assimilation was most thorough. A clear distinction has been made between the structure of the Party organisation in "Upper Carniola" and "Lower Styria." The *Kärntner Volksbund* was dissolved on January 1st, 1942, and replaced by a fully fledged branch organisation of the NSDAP, with Party *Kreisämter*, Hitler Youth, NSV and a Party newspaper, "*Der Karawankenbote.*" The Defence League (*Wehrmannschaften*) of the People's League was not dissolved until October, 1942, and was replaced by such familiar formations as SS, SA, NSKK and NSFK. The educational system was completely nazified, and 169 elementary, nine central schools, and one teachers' college (in Kranj-Krainburg) were established. A classical secondary school was opened in Radovljica (Radmannsdorf) in January, 1944, and a special Nazi secondary school (*Napola*) was opened in St. Veit (Sava) in 1943. Adult education was carried on by the Party, whose centre for ideological education was a *Gauschulungsburg* (ideological training centre) in Wald an der Save. The germanisation of place and street names and posters of all descriptions was extremely thorough. Slavonic inscriptions which, it was said, spoiled the scenery, were removed, and the germanisation of Christian and family names was enforced by a decree of the Chief of Civil Administration. The person responsible for ideological germanisation was Helmut Hierzegger, Chief of the Party Organisation and Deputy Chief of Civil Administration for Upper Carniola.

In Lower Styria, the *Steirische Heimatbund* was preserved, although it had been stressed that its purpose was to pave the way for the establishment of an NSDAP organisation. The leader of the league, *Bundesführer* Franz Steindl, gave wide publicity to its activities. The league was subdivided into seven districts (headed by *Kreisführer*, not *Kreisleiter*), 154 local branches, 624 cells and 4,208 blocks. There were 6,652 *Amtsträger* in April, 1942, and 6,000 administrative officials, all trusted members of the *Bund*. The counterpart of the German Party formations was the *Deutsche Wehrmannschaft* (German Defence League) which enrolled all members of the *Bund* between eighteen and fifty. With 83,778 members and 19,000 leaders and sub-leaders, it was organised in two brigades, ten *Standarten* and 364 *Stürme*. In addition there was a motor *Standarte* and a *Standarte* for special operations. The *Wehrmannschaft* was active in "keeping order" within the country and fighting partisans in conjunction with detachments of the *Wehrmacht*. Ten "alert companies" comprised a special corps comparable to the SS and was intended to form hedgehog garrisons in the threatened border districts. The

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* Note the term *zugehörigkeit*, which means actually less than membership, rather "belonging to the State."

† "*Völk. Beobachter,*" April 11th, 1943. As to the population of the capital Maribor, the "*Marburger Zeitung*" of February 27th, 1943, stated that whereas the population included only 5,000 *Volksdeutsche* before 1941, these had risen to 71,440. The Yugoslav census of 1931 gives the total number of inhabitants as 33,141!

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organisation corresponding to the Hitler Youth was the *Deutsche Jugend*, which had 95,000 members between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Three hundred and sixty German elementary schools existed at the end of 1943, attended by 86,000 children; in addition, there were twenty-six central schools. Secondary education, provided for Germans only, was given in seven schools, four of which are in Maribor, the capital, where there are also four teachers' training colleges. One thousand and seventy-three teachers, mostly drawn from Styria proper, were actively employed.

A special problem was the teaching of the German language to the forcibly germanised Slovenes. No less than 200,000 Lower Styrians attended 3,030 such centres, and 50,000 Upper Carniolians 1,569 courses. Yet many complaints were lodged by the Party leaders in both regions to the effect that knowledge of German was still inadequate. As late as April 16th, 1943, the well-known expert on Germanism abroad—Walter Schneefuss—declared in the "*Brüsseler Zeitung*": "In Southern Carinthia and Lower Styria, the country is German in its culture but the population for the most part considers itself to be Slovene. . . . The number of Germans in Upper Carniola is small; the number of racially superior men in whose veins there is some German blood is, however, much higher." The "*Marburger Zeitung*," the Party newspaper of Lower Styria, claimed on April 10th, 1943, that two-thirds of the population then understood German compared with one-third before the invasion, but added: "Nevertheless, the greatest task with regard to the solution of the language question still lies ahead." Thus, Steindl's triumphant statement, made on the second anniversary of the "liberation," that all traces of "Slovene-Serb domination" had been removed was not borne out by some of his compatriots.

4. *The Fate of the Slovenes*

The fate of the Slovenes was as tragic as that of the Poles or Jews. The fact that the territory contained more than 900,000 inhabitants before the invasion, as against the 756,000 mentioned by the Germans in 1942, bears out reports that about 200,000 Slovenes disappeared from their native soil. According to a statement issued by the Yugoslav Government, in February, 1943, 48,000 Slovenes were deported to Serbia and Croatia, 30,000 were deported to Germany, 100,000 were sent to Germany and Eastern Poland as foreign workers, and 30,000 were either killed or placed in concentration camps, including all the intelligentsia who were unable to escape.

Especially severe measures were taken in the southern border region on the occasion of the settlement of Germans from Kočevje and elsewhere. Some 45,000 Slovenes from the districts of Brezice (Brann) and Krško (Gurkenfeld) (17,000) and of Upper Carniola (Littai) (28,000) were forced to emigrate between October 24th and December 16th, 1941. They were sent to different parts of Germany; 5,000 went to Lower Styria, 16,000 to south-western Germany and 12,000 to northern and central Germany. This wholesale eviction (only the above figures are known) was accompanied by complete dispossession of the Slovenes. The confiscation of property, both of individuals and corporative bodies, was carried out without compensation, according to a decree of the Chiefs of Civil Administration of June, 1943. In contrast to this, Croat owners of confiscated property inhabitating the frontier regions, were compensated by a mixed German-Croat commission set up according to the German-Croat Treaty of April 16th, 1943.

The remaining *Schutzangehörige* were deprived of all their legal and civil rights. They were called-up for special labour service "as an obvious duty towards the State community which grants them the possibility of life and livelihood."

The reaction of the Slovene people was violent; they participated actively in the National Liberation Movement almost from the first. Steindl claimed that by reason of their Nazi education the "majority" of Lower Styrians were immune from the "every-day negative side of political and military events" and that the "bandits" recruited their forces principally from Upper Carniola and Italian Ljubljana. As late as April, 1944, he raged against the *raumfremd* ideology of priests and intellectuals in Ljubljana, although that province had then come under the control of his colleague, Gauleiter Rainer of Carinthia. The growing anxiety revealed in the speeches of prominent leaders about the "intellectual bandits of the adversaries of the Reich" (Steindl) or the "destructive activities of the alien murder-gangs in the pay of Moscow" (Uiberreither) shows that germanisation in Slovenia has been as superficial as elsewhere.

IV.—Luxembourg

1. *Historical*

Luxembourg is the only independent European State that has been incorporated as a whole into Greater Germany. Its population is of overwhelmingly German stock, standing in the same relationship to the neighbouring "Franks" of the Moselle valley as do the German-speaking people of eastern Switzerland to the neighbouring Swabians of Baden and Wurttemberg. Yet, like the German Swiss, the Luxembourgers have developed their own native language called *Letzeburgsch* which, spoken as it is by all classes of the population, is as different from ordinary High German as is *Switzerdütsch*, Dutch or Flemish. However, while the commercial language, owing to the long inclusion of the country in the German *Zollverein*, is German and most newspapers appear in High German, the official legislative, administrative and judicial language has been French for some four centuries. The reason for this is that present-day Luxembourg was part of the Burgundian Empire after 1443 and as such was successively under French (1443/1506), Spanish (1506/1714), Austrian (1714/95) and again French rule (1795/1815). It was part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands from 1815/30 when it became independent, its rulers being of the House of Orange-Nassau. This history drew Luxembourg completely into the sphere of French civilisation, in spite of the strong commercial and political links with Germany forged when the country was part of the Holy Roman Empire (until 1806) and of the German Confederation (although under non-German rulers) until 1866. To eradicate this development has been the definite aim of German policy during the second occupation and the object of "re-germanisation." This was the point of Hitler's commission to Gustav Simon, Leader of the Party Gau Moselland, to "recover (as Chief of Civil Administration) the former *Reichsland Luxemburg* for the German Reich."*

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* Simon himself has been wont to speak of the country as the "*alte Reichsland Lützelburg*," an archaic version of the term Luxembourg. The phrase has no historical foundation.

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2. *The Volksdeutsche Bewegung and the NSDAP*

On March 7th, 1934, one year after the advent of Hitler to power, a seemingly harmless organisation was founded in Luxembourg, calling itself the Luxembourg Society for German Literature and Art (*Luxemburger Gesellschaft für deutsche Literatur und Kunst*). Its founder and its president, since 1935, was a secondary school teacher in the city of Luxembourg, Professor Damian Kratzenberg (born in 1878 in Clervaux). The Society professed to aim at establishing cultural relations between Luxembourgers and the 15,000 Reich Germans resident in the country, thus maintaining close contact with the branch of the Foreign Organisation (AO) of the NSDAP. A youth organisation also came into existence in 1936, the *Luxemburger Volksjugend,* which was affiliated to the Hitler Youth. Its membership was very small.

The fact that this cultural society was a fifth column was revealed immediately after the invasion. In May, 1940, Kratzenberg reconstituted his organisation as a German Ethnic Group (*Volksdeutsche Gruppe*), with the motto, "*Heim ins Reich*" (Back to the Reich). On June 20th its title was once more changed, the "group" became a "movement," and the *Volksdeutsche Bewegung,* commonly abbreviated to VdB, was, after the dissolution of all political parties on August 23rd, commissioned to conduct the "political education" of Luxembourgers. Kratzenberg, of course, became its leader, or *Landesleiter*. According to his own accounts, it had on September 10th, 1940, no more than 5,650 members in forty-one local branches, or 1·5 per cent. of the total population. This state of affairs changed when, on January 4th, 1942, the VdB was given official status as a public corporation, and it was simultaneously announced that no one could become a member of the German Labour Front, *i.e.,* find employment, without being a member of the VdB. This step swelled the ranks of the organisation to 70,000 by September, 1942, when a membership ban was proclaimed which lasted for a full year.

The VdB can, to a certain extent, be compared with the Styrian Home League, as described in the previous section. There is, however, the remarkable difference that a fully-fledged NSDAP organisation was superimposed upon the native quisling organisation in February, 1941, after the AO had been dissolved. In 1944 it had no less than 4,000 political leaders.* The two organisations divided the work between them, so that the VdB supervised the cultural germanisation of the country in all aspects, choosing its functionaries from indigenous Luxemburgers, while the NSDAP supervised central and local administration, and its leading functionaries were to an overwhelming extent Reich Germans. In addition to the usual Party organisations, there were the familiar formations, such as SA, HJ, BDM.† Membership figures, published for April, 1943, were :—

VdB	69,045
SA	1,336
SS	110
NSFK (Motor Corps)	1,475
NSFK (Flying Corps)	210
HJ	9,547
BDM	7,133
NSF (Women's Organisation) ...	12,177
DAF (Labour Front)	57,666

As membership of the Labour Front and VdB is inter-related and membership of the Hitler Youth and BDM was compulsory, these figures were far from impressive.

3. *"Resettlement"*

In September, 1942, Simon announced that "unreliable elements would be resettled within the German *Lebensraum*" as their presence could not be tolerated in a frontier area. Theodor Berkelmann, then Senior SS and Police Leader in *Wehrkreis* XII (Wiesbaden), was appointed Himmler's representative as Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanhood, and carried out this commission with the usual brutality until November, 1943 (see list, page 39). Although prominent Nazi officials have never denied that the measure was a purely political one, the term "deportation" was carefully avoided, and Gaulieter Simon stated in May, 1943: "Resettlement cannot be compared with deportation in any way; it is just a measure of political necessity to strengthen the people of the frontier community, and it also gives the *Volksgenossen* concerned the opportunity more rapidly to become faithful members of the people's community.

It is difficult to estimate the number of people concerned. Simon himself said in August, 1943, that the number of deported Luxembourgers was under 2,000. The real figure must have finally amounted to well over 10,000. They were replaced by ethnic Germans from Southern Tyrol, Bukovina and Transylvania, and also by Reich Germans, "all deserving families who fulfil all the necessary requirements for border populations" (Berkelmann). But here, too, exact figures have never been published.

The property of the deportees was placed under the care of the *Deutsche Umsiedlungstreuhandgesellschaft* (*DUT*), which had an official representative in each of the four *Landratsämter*. Persons selected for deportation were given only a few hours' notice, during which they were supposed to compile an inventory of their property for the benefit of the DUT, and were then sent off to an unknown destination with no more luggage than they could carry. Their houses were transferred to "deserving families with many children, to wounded or specially distinguished soldiers, etc." (Berkelmann), and, of course, to new arrivals.

In addition to re-settlement measures, children were sent to educational camps in the Reich, and workers were transferred to Germany as foreign labour. On the other hand, many Reich Germans with their families were brought in as administrators and business men. Thus a movement of population took place which is difficult to assess, though it is believed that about 30,000 Luxembourgers are no longer in the country, but have disappeared, either as "re-settlers" and foreign workers or to concentration camps. The census taken in October, 1943, revealed a total resident

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* One local branch, the *Ortsgruppe* Ettelbrück in Party *Kreis* Diekirch had the following officials in November 1942 :—

Ortsgruppe staff	8	*Leiter* or *Führer*
Staff of formations (HJ, etc.)	11	*Leiter* or *Führer*
Staff of DAF	18	*Leiter* or *Führer*
Staff of NSF	19	*Leiter* or *Führer*
Cell leaders	41	*Zellenleiter*
Block leaders	182	*Blockleiter*
	279	

Ettelbrück has a total population of 6,000.

† Membership of one of the three HJ (BDM) *Banne* (Nos. 766–768) became compulsory in May, 1941, and 20,000 members were reported in July, 1943. The *Banne* were part of the *Gebiet Moselland* of the HJ.

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population of 287,346 persons, as against 301,367 on January 1st, 1938. Of these, 231,554 were described as ethnic German Luxembourgers (as against 276,000 in 1938), 11,123 as Reich Germans (as against some 8,000 in May, 1940), 13,116 as of foreign nationality (amongst them 7,700 Italians), and 31,354 as "doubtful cases." Whether resettled ethnic Germans were among the last is not clear, nor whether this class included such people as were thought unworthy of being called ethnic Germans, and were listed for deportation.

4. *The Nationality Question*

The nationality question was a delicate problem during the first phase of occupation. When the Germans held a census on October 10th, 1941, column 5 of their questionnaire asked for present nationality (*Staatszugehörigkeit*), column 7, for mother tongue, and column 8 for "nationhood" (*Volkszugehörigkeit*). It was stated that dialects such as "Low German," by which was meant *Letzeburgsch*, would not count as a mother tongue, and that "nationhood" was a matter for individual decision according to personal feelings. In spite of this, 98 per cent. of the population filled in "Luxembourg" as their "nationhood" and *Letzeburgsch* as their mother-tongue, and the census was declared invalid. Statements and decrees issued soon afterwards made it clear that Luxembourg nationality had ceased to exist on May 10th, 1940, and an official inquiry was to be undertaken into *Volkstum*, and the nationality of all inhabitants. It was, however, pointed out that a Luxembourger who was officially recognised as belonging to the German *Volkstum* would not thereby acquire German citizenship (*Reichsbürgerrecht*). This could only be acquired, the announcement said, "by an irreproachable behaviour with regard to politics," and it was added that "a peasant will only be allowed to retain his farm on condition that he belongs to the German *Volkstum*, and, furthermore, professes his acceptance of the ideas of the Reich; a business man must realise that he must give up his house, his shop or his factory, despite German descent and language, if he acts as a separatist."

On August 23rd, 1942, simultaneously with the introduction of conscription, the Reich Minister of the Interior issued a nationality decree which was to be equally valid for Luxembourg, Alsace and Lorraine. According to this decree, men of German race who were (*a*) called up for service with the Armed Forces or the SS, or (*b*) recognised as proven Germans (*bewährte Deutsche*), acquired German citizenship by law. Naturalisation as a rule extended also to the wife and children under age. In addition, provisional naturalisation could be conferred by special decree. This last provision introduced a special group similar to Class III of the "People's List" in the eastern occupied territories, or group 2 in Slovenia (see above, A II, 2, and III, 1). The results so far published have been very scanty. Thus, the Berlin correspondent of "*Stockholms Tidningen*" reported on September 1st, 1942, that an overwhelming majority of Luxembourgers had already applied for and received German citizenship, but went on to say that up to August 30th (*i.e.*, five days after the decree), 15,000 men had acquired citizenship for themselves and their families. This figure would indicate that only 5 per cent. of the total population had been considered.

5. *Methods of Germanisation*

As elsewhere, germanisation has taken its crudest form in the cultural sphere. The first measure in this respect was the decree of August 6th, 1940, introducing the exclusive use of the German language. This was followed by the elimination of all inscriptions in any non-German language, alteration of street names (*e.g.*, Avenue de la Liberté into Adolf Hitler Strasse), and by the germanisation of all Latin Christian and family names. The German educational system was introduced *in toto*, involving the closing of a great number of schools, in particular all private schools, which were mostly denominational (98 per cent. of Luxembourgers are Roman Catholic).

Whilst before the invasion there were 1,083 elementary schools (*écoles primaires publiques*) with 35,212 pupils and 1,095 teachers, the number had been reduced to 398 schools with 865 teachers by October, 1941. Although Kratzenberg stated in August, 1942, that the secondary schools were to "make good the crimes which have been committed in Luxembourg during the last decades," German officials of the educational department of the Chief of Civil Administration had to admit the excellence of higher education in the country, and the eight secondary schools (with 3,415 scholars and 315 teachers in 1939) were taken over—lock, stock and barrel—and adjusted to the types of schools introduced into the Reich in 1938. By 1942 only 135 teachers were left, forty among them being "exchange teachers" from Germany. Apart from the Athenäum (Gymnasium with Upper school) in Luxembourg city, of which Kratzenberg became principal, all secondary schools were placed under Commissars as headmasters; all these were *Studienräte* imported from the Reich. The leadership principle was introduced into school administration; the headmaster became "the responsible leader of his school, whose word is decisive in all cases."* The new form of Economic High School (*Wirtschaftsoberschule*) was established in Luxembourg and Esch, and the system of full-time vocational schools extended. In 1942 the *Ecoles primaires supérieures* were transformed into *Hauptschulen*. In addition, a *Napola* for girls was set up at the castle of Colmar Berg in 1942, and the *Adolf Hitlerschule Moselland* transferred to the famous abbey of Clerveaux, after the episcopal priests' training college had been closed.

The curricula have been completely altered. Whereas they were formerly based on the principle that the Luxembourger was bi-lingual (six to seven periods per week had been devoted to French as against four to High German in elementary schools), French was completely abolished. German text-books on familiar lines were introduced, and only members of the HJ were allowed to sit for examinations. Only scholars of proven Nazi views were allowed to attend those German universities which were opened to them. After January, 1943, all boys of sixteen to nineteen had to attend a HJ Training Camp, and those of seventeen a pre-military training camp. In addition, thousands of children were sent to child evacuation camps in the Reich, where the teachers were "able to teach the children from morning till night to be faithful soldiers in the service of Germany."* Many teachers and headmasters were deported to Germany and replaced by Germans. The Luxembourg Teachers' Association was replaced by a branch of the NS *Lehrerbund*, and several training colleges on the Reich German model were established.

General education and "culture" have been completely changed by the NSDAP, especially by the "Cultural Association" of Gau Moselland, which co-operated with the external office of the

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* "*Das Luxemburger Wort*," March 5th, 1943.

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Reich Propaganda Office in Luxembourg. A purge of all public and lending libraries and bookstalls took place in 1940, and all French books and "obnoxious" books in German were destroyed. New town and country libraries were established, and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* replaced by a purged *Landesbibliothek,* which was said to have had 600,000 volumes at the end of 1943. All museums were concentrated in a *Landesmuseum,* and a Central Department for Nationhood, Folk-Lore, Home-Art and Home-History (*Zentralstelle für Volkskunde, Heimatkunst und Heimatgeschichte*) was affiliated to it. The DAF opened a *Volksbildungsstätte* for adult education in the city of Luxembourg, and a branch of the Administrative Academy Mosselland was set up there to train or re-train civil servants. The press was rationalised, and of the seven daily papers published before the invasion, only two remained, the "*Luxemburger Wort*" (formerly clerical) and the "*Escher Tageblatt*" (formerly socialist). The latter became the official daily of the VdB and of all authorities in the industrial area. In addition, a branch edition of the "*Gauzeitung Moselland,*" appearing as the "*Nationalblatt,*" became the official daily of all public authorities in Luxembourg. Theatres and films were co-ordinated, and the radio station Luxembourg developed as a "political and cultural instrument." To complete and unify intellectual germanisation, the whole complex of German cultural law was introduced into Luxembourg in April, 1944. Simultaneously, a District Chamber of Culture in Luxembourg took over the tasks and rights of the *Reichskulturkammer* in the country, which since 1940 had been carried out by a *Landeskulturkammer*.

Economically, Luxembourg was a prize of far greater value than the size of the country would indicate. Luxembourg took sixth place in the world's steel production, and had forty-seven blast furnaces in the industrial district of Esch. In January, 1943, a branch of the Gau Economic Chamber of Moselland was set up in Luxembourg to supervise all economic activities in the country. Shortly before, all mining companies had been amalgamated in a new company under German control. On October 1st, 1943, the whole steel-producing industry was included in the Moselland District Group of the Reich Trade Group for the iron-producing industry. The leading steel concern, ARBED, was turned into a company of the German type (*Aktiengesellschaft deutschen Rechts*)*, and the second group, HADIR, was transformed into *Differdinger Stahlwerke,* under German management. The steel king of Luxembourg appears to be the former Secretary of State, König, Göring's representative on the Four Years' Plan and the Hermann Göring Works.

Luxembourg co-operatives have been amalgamated with the central co-operative society in Coblenz, and the whole insurance business in Luxembourg has been taken over by German enterprises. All trade unions were dissolved, their funds confiscated, and all workers compulsorily drafted into the German Labour Front, which in the industrial district of Esch had no less than 1,500 functionaries whose activities were political as well as economic. An interesting decree, showing how labour is fettered under the Nazis came into force on February 4th. It gave absolute powers to the staff manager (*Gefolgschaftsführer*), whose duty it was to "supervise discipline in the firm and to counter any offences accordingly." Such offences were unpunctuality, absence from work, or deliberate disobedience. Penalties ranged from written warnings to fines amounting to an average week's wages. In serious cases he had to consult the *Vertrauensrat,* a workers' representative committee appointed by the Labour Front. The Luxembourg farmers were incorporated into the Reich Food Estate (*Reichsnährstand*) in October, 1943.

6. *The Attitude of the Luxembourgers*

In spite of their German origin, the Luxembourgers are as proud of their national independence as are the Dutch or the Swiss, and there was not the slightest tendency towards an *Anschluss* before the invasion; Kratzenberger's "movement" was confined to a handful of people, supported by agents of the Foreign Organisation of the NSDAP. Against Kratzenberger's slogan, "*Heim ins Reich,*" the Luxembourgers set their own motto, "*Mir wölle bleiwe wât mir sin*" (we want to remain what we are). But resistance was not merely passive. When germanisation reached its peak with the decrees of August 30th, 1942, enforcing conscription and the new nationality law, a general strike broke out, the first in occupied Europe, which could only be quelled by proclaiming martial law (*Standrecht*). The decrees of deportation and confiscation of property were promulgated immediately afterwards, yet the call to German arms was countered by mass evasion as well as mass desertion. This led to a new crisis and to a decree, issued on July 10th, 1943, according to which Simon could confiscate property or take appropriate measures against relatives of deserters or of persons who evaded military or labour service, the last having been introduced as early as January, 1941. Yet resistance still flourished, and the Special Court set up by decree on August 14th, 1940, was unceasingly at work. To give only one example from among many, it was announced on Febuary 27th, 1924, that twenty-three men had been shot under martial law for "inducing others to desert or helping them to do so, for activities detrimental to the German Armed Forces, and for helping the enemy and betraying their country." Among those executed were people of all classes—teachers, civil servants, tradesmen, farmers, engineers, hairdressers, foundry workers and business managers. The concentration camp (*SS-Sonderlager*) at Hintzert in the Hunsrück, the deportations, the "re-education," and even threats to replace the whole population of Luxembourg by Germans, have not altered the fact that germanisation has been of little if any avail.

V.—Alsace and Lorraine

1. *General Introduction and the "Autonomist Movement"*

Alsace and Lorraine, though combined as a German *Reichsland* in 1876, are regions distinct from each other in geographical features, history, racial composition, language and economic structure.

Geographically, the Department Moselle is closely linked with the French region of Lorraine, with which it was united in the Duchy of Lorraine until 1670, except for the Bishopric of Metz, which became French in 1552, and the County of Thionville, which belonged to Luxembourg until 1659. Its population is of predominantly French origin, and ethnographically homogeneous with that of Northern France. The linguistic frontier runs through the department in a north-west to south-easterly direction, and the changing fortunes

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* Its Director-General, A. Meyer, collaborated closely.

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of history have made the population largely bilingual. The iron-ore deposits in the north-west are joined to those of the Longwy-Briey district, as well as to those of Esch in Luxembourg. In contrast to this, the departements Haut and Bas-Rhin are geographically separated from France by the Vosges mountains, and comprise chiefly the low plain between the Vosges and the Black Forest up to the river Rhine, which divides the region from the German *Land* Baden. As is to be expected in a border area, the population is of mixed French and German origin, many of them being descended from the people of Baden, Württemberg and Eastern Switzerland.

The Allemanic tribe gave the majority of the people of Haut and Bas Rhin their Germanic dialect, *Elsässer Dîtsch*, but there are a few districts in the upper valleys of the Alsation slopes of the Vosges where French is the native language. The region is largely agricultural, viticulture playing an important part; but the area round Mulhouse is strongly industrial, the textile industry being the most important.

As distinct from Luxembourg and Switzerland, the three departments have never been politically independent. Lorraine became French during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Alsace towards the end of the seventeenth. The French Revolution drew both regions, and especially Alsace, into the main stream of French life, and when they were annexed to the new German Empire in 1871,* opposition was strong in both. Germanisation, as attempted under Bismarck and his successors, was of little avail, and the provinces never received equality in political status.

The return to France in 1918 was generally welcomed by the population of both regions. This, however, did not preclude great difficulties. French centralism clashed generally with the traditional regionalism of the two areas. While northern Lorraine was more easily re-united to the main body of French Lorraine, an autonomous movement began to arise in Alsace in 1925. The manifesto of the Home League (*Heimatbund*) included a call to unity in defence of the rights and national conscience of the provinces against assimilation, and claimed that those rights could only be guaranteed "if we as a national minority receive full autonomy within the framework of France." Although it claimed for the regions, as the "meeting point of two great cultures," the mission of contributing their share to Franco-German reconciliation, the movement included paid agents of pan-German nationalist organisations, such as the *Deutscher Schutzbund* and the active "League of Alsace-Lorrainers in the Reich." The latter agitated for a return to the Reich. There were also separatists who would have liked to form an independent State on the Swiss model under the protection of the League of Nations, while the majority of the population were in favour of a moderate regionalism. These differences of opinion resulted in many divisions among the parties. The *Landespartei*, the only remaining radical autonomous party after 1928, demanded in their official programme a federal solution within France, pending the time when Alsace should take its place as an independent member of the United States of Europe. Its paper, "People's Voice" ("*Volksstimme*"), was published by the firm *Société Erwiniana*, a firm that concentrated on the production of autonomist literature, and was financed by a loan issued in Switzerland and suspected of originating in Germany.

After French repressive measures, the autonomist agitation reached its peak in 1928, and, in alliance with the Alsatian Communists, secured 16 per cent. of all votes cast in the subsequent general elections. Excitement subsided, however, after the French government had resorted to a conciliatory policy.

The rise of National Socialism, with its centralising and totalitarian tendencies, which were contrary to Alsatian particularism, the suppression of the Catholic Centre Party and the religious persecution that accompanied it (the two regions are 85 per cent. Roman Catholic) caused a firmer attachment to France than ever before. The more extreme autonomists, however, began to gravitate towards Nazism, influenced by the secret political and financial support which some of them obtained, and by the apparent successes of the Nazis and their *Volkstum* propaganda. The autonomist party, severely reduced in numbers, began to model itself on Nazi lines, showing special zeal in anti-semitic propaganda. There were 28,000 Jews in both regions, or 1·5 per cent. of the total population. They played an important part in economic and intellectual life, and were distinguished by their loyalty to France. In 1936, the extreme autonomist *Landespartei* polled only 4 per cent. of the total votes, but its alliance with the parties of the right against the Popular Front enabled it to exercise considerable influence in that coalition. At the outbreak of war a number of leaders were arrested, and one, Karl ROOS, was tried and executed for high treason. He became the saint of nazified Alsace.

The true character of the autonomist movement was revealed in January, 1941. Six former autonomists had been appointed *Kreisleiter* of the NSDAP, and Bickler of Strasbourg stated that in "launching the Autonomist Movement in 1925, war had been declared on France," though at the time it had not been possible to proclaim openly that the movement was protecting Reich interests.

Officially Germany denied that she had any designs on Alsace-Lorraine. Five times—in 1934; in 1935, after the breach of the Locarno Pact which guaranteed France her Versailles frontiers; before and after Munich, and again as late as August, 1939—Hitler affirmed that he would adhere to Stresemann's solemn pledge.

An important influence upon internal affairs was exercised between 1919 and 1940 by societies of Alsace-Lorrainers inside Germany. Over 120 such organisations were set up, composed mainly of Germans who had immigrated into Alsace-Lorraine after 1871 and re-emigrated to or opted for Germany after 1919. One of their objects was to press their claims for financial compensation, but on the whole they got little pecuniary encouragement from the Government. After 1933 their political importance increased, as did that of all other German societies embracing "ethnic Germans."

The most important organisations were the following:—

(1) *Hilfsbund für die Elsass-Lothringer im Reich*, which was started to encourage Alsace-Lorrainers to retain their German culture. To this end the "Aid-League" published a weekly called "*Elsass-Lothringische Mitteil-*

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* Germany annexed the Département Bas-Rhin, the Département Haut-Rhin with the exception of the district round Belfort, the cantons of Saales and Schirmeck in the Département of the Vosges, two-thirds of Département Moselle and one-third of Département Meurthe.

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ungen." Its headquarters were in Berlin, and it claimed to have 150,000 members.

(2) *Verein der Alt-Elsass-Lothringer,* an association which catered for all immigrants and refugees from Alsace-Lorraine. The president was Dr. Robert Ernst, who became Town Commissioner of Strasbourg in 1940. He was assisted by Schwander, the last Imperial Governor of the provinces. This organisation published a monthly review, the "*Elsass-Lothringer Heimatstimmen,*" which was intended to attract intellectual circles, and gave information on current events and developments favourable to Germany.

(3) *Das Wissenschaftliche Institut der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich an der Universität Frankfurt,* founded in July, 1919. This was a cultural offshoot of the above-mentioned *Hilfsbund,* and was affiliated to the University of Frankfurt as a research institute. Its Secretary-General since 1935 has been Professor Paul Wentzke. The Library contained 20,000 volumes and 12,000 pamphlets. Everything dealing with any aspect of life in the two provinces, irrespective of author or language, was collected with the object of proving that historically, linguistically and culturally, Alsace-Lorraine should belong to Germany. The Institute figured in the 1943 lecture list of Frankfurt as *Elsass-Lothringen Institut.*

In 1930, all German associations of Alsace-Lorrainers were absorbed in the *Bund der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich* with Robert Ernst (see above, (2)) as *Bundesleiter.* It had its seat in Motzstr. 46, Berlin W.36, and ten regional and ninety local branches in 1936.

The *Bund* was dissolved in September, 1941, as it had, according to the official view, fulfilled its purpose, and Alsace and Lorraine " had each gone its own way."

2. *Ethnographical Germanisation*

As in " Wartheland," Slovenia and Luxembourg, the avowed aim of the German occupation after the second annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was the building of a " national wall." " On the German side of the border, only Germans can live," said Bürckel, Chief of the Civil Administration of Lorraine, " and these must be Germans of whose national attitude there can be no doubt." And Wagner, his colleague in Alsace announced on July 19th, 1940, that his policy was to rid Alsace of " all nationally and racially alien elements."

The composition of the population before the annexation is not easy to ascertain. According to the German census of 1910, 22·3 per cent. of the population of Lorraine and 4·7 per cent. of the population of Alsace gave French as their mother tongue. The French census of 1926 asked for the language usually spoken and the proportion for French was 35·7 per cent. in Lorraine and 16·8 per cent. in Alsace. The census of 1931 again applied a different method, and asked for the languages spoken. As a result, the number speaking French only fell to 22·8 per cent. and 10·4 per cent. respectively, but those who claimed to be bilingual were 36·1 per cent. and 38·2 per cent. respectively. Thus the number who could speak French amounted to 58·9 per cent. in Lorraine and 48·6 per cent. in Alsace. Those who spoke German only amounted to 29·7 per cent. in Lorraine and 47·3 per cent. in Alsace.

When the German army marched into Alsace-Lorraine in June, 1940, they found their population largely depleted. Of roughly 1,900,000 inhabitants, 650,000 (432,000 of these from Alsace) had been evacuated by the French government to Central and Southern France at the outbreak of war, since the Maginot Line cut right through the two provinces. The majority returned after an appeal to do so had been issued by the new rulers. Jews and all Frenchmen who had settled in Alsace-Lorraine between 1918 and 1939 were not allowed to return. Parallel with this repatriation, a process of expulsion and deportation was carried out.

Gauleiter Bürckel declared on September 21st, 1940, that he intended to abolish the linguistic frontier of Lorraine by carrying out an " exchange of population." Lorrainers were given the choice between French and German nationality. Those choosing French were to be sent to France, and French-speaking Lorrainers choosing German would have to settle in another part of the Reich. Jews, Frenchmen who had entered Lorraine after 1918 and " French sympathisers," had to leave in any case. Mass expulsions followed immediately and Pétain stated in November that 70,000 Lorrainers had arrived in France. About 2 per cent. had opted for Germany and were sent to the Reich straight away ; a camp for " re-reducation " was established for them in Ulm. After July 31st, 1941, all expulsions and deportations were directed to the Reich and to Poland. The total figure cannot be much under 100,000 and would in any case amount to less than 50 per cent. of the purely French population. Bürckel had to admit that the shortage of man-power prohibited the expulsion of the industrial population employed in heavy industry, the ore-smelting foundries alone employing 28,000 men at the end of 1941. Accordingly, these measures were concentrated upon the intellectual and professional middle and upper classes and upon the agricultural population. There is, however, no doubt that the border districts of Metz, Chateau-Salins, and Sarrebourg and the non-industrial areas of Thionville, have been completely cleared of the French-speaking population.

As for Alsace, Dr. Ernst, a former President of the League of old Alsace-Lorrainers in the Reich, and Commissioner for Strasbourg after the occupation, mentioned the figure of 100,000 deportees in August, 1941.* As the census of 1931 listed 125,000 people who spoke French only, they must have contributed the major part, but in addition many Alsatians of German origin were sent to Germany for re-education. In both Alsace and Lorraine, the process of deportation received a new stimulus with the introduction of conscription in August, 1942, and the French Committee of Liberation estimates that over half a million Alsatians and Lorrainers had been deported by January, 1944. This figure would probably include those 100,000 Alsatians who, according to Wagner's declaration of December, 1942, refused to return from France after the German annexation. Further large-scale expulsions seem to have started again in both regions on June 12th, 1944, the new measures applying to all persons who had not joined a Nazi organisation and were suspected of not having given up their pro-French feelings.

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* Wagner on December 31st, 1942, said that only 25,000, " who served no purpose in the community of the German people," had been expelled.

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The treatment of deportees and their property, was similar to that meted out to the native population of Western Poland, Slovenia and Luxembourg. Their property was confiscated; they were usually allowed only thirty to forty-five minutes to pack, and could take only 30 to 70 lbs. of luggage and 2,000 to 5,000 francs. Jewellery, bank-books and cheques had to be handed over to the authorities. The property was disposed of at public sales which none but German immigrants attended, or handed over to the Party or its welfare organisations or to public bodies. The more valuable furniture was sent to the Reich.* The property thus confiscated was classed as belonging to enemies of the Reich, among whom were included, in addition to the above-mentioned groups, political parties and organisations, masonic lodges and Jews. A new decree of December 1st, 1943, authorised the Chief of Civil Administration in Lorraine to take charge of former French property on behalf of the Reich.

The expelled population was replaced by re-settlers. Berkelmann was *Siedlungskommissar* for Lorraine from August, 1941, until November, 1943, when he was replaced by Sroop. Under his guidance at least 80,000 Germans were settled in Lorraine, and 2,600 farms were taken over in the border cantons. Most of the settlers appear to be Reich Germans from the Saar district and Westphalia, and the influx of ethnic Germans from abroad, probably Bessarabia and South Tyrol, was small. German veterans from the last war or their descendants were given preference. At first, settlers cultivated land collectively but it has lately been divided into small holdings. Each settler now cultivates three of these holdings, one for himself and two in trust for soldiers at the front. A new type of worker-peasant was created, *i.e.*, the industrial worker with a small plot of land. As 90 per cent. of all administrative officials were dismissed in Lorraine, an additional influx of public servants took place, not to mention business men, traders, industrial overseers, foreign workers and bombed-out evacuees.

In Alsace no trace of organised settlement has been observed. A greater proportion of public servants than in Lorraine were kept in office and those civil servants of the higher grade who were dismissed (*e.g.*, about 65 per cent. of all Mayors) were largely replaced by local Nazis, *i.e.*, radical autonomists. All those left in office had to undergo special Nazi training at various Gau schools such as were established at Herrenalb and Carspach near Altkirch (where 25,000 Alsatian public servants were trained after March, 1941) at a special school for Mayors near Strasbourg or at the Administrative Academies of Strasbourg and Mulhouse.

3. *The Nationality Question*

Having been German subjects from 1871 to 1918, the inhabitants of German origin, especially in Alsace, were regarded as Germans who had been "temporarily misled." Yet there was no provision in the Armistice which indicated the surrender of these regions to the German Reich and consequently of the people's nationality as Frenchmen. Thus, a statement such as that issued in Luxembourg, that the former nationality no longer existed, had no shadow of legal basis. German citizenship has, therefore, been imposed upon the population by stages. During 1940 and in the early months of 1941, the people in Alsace and Lorraine were officially referred to as *Volksdeutsche*. Then it was declared that those admitted to the SS (since May, 1941) and to the German Army (since June, 1941) as volunteers would become *Reichsdeutsche* with full rights. With the introduction of compulsory conscription in August, 1942, the nationality law referred to above under Luxembourg (IV, 4) was also introduced. At first, Wagner applied it very strictly and gave Reich citizenship only to the following categories:

(*a*) The eighteen Alsatians who were imprisoned with Karl Roos in Nancy.

(*b*) Those who were "proven fighters for German *Volkstum*" during the French period.

(*c*) All volunteers for the German Armed Forces (2,500 up to August, 1942), conscripts after August, 1942, and their families, and soldiers of the last war, war widows of the last war and in certain cases other dependants.

(*d*) All Party members (17,337 Alsatians in 1943).

Lately Wagner has granted citizenship in increasing numbers to public servants of all kinds, probably in order to commit them and bind them to the Nazi community. In June, 1944, shortly after the invasion of Normandy, 104 Alsatian higher civil servants and 226 teachers were granted German citizenship. At the beginning of July Wagner issued a decree stating that all those "who have been given the duties of an official of the Reich, who have been indirectly appointed as Reich Officials or Civil Servants or who have been acting as honorary municipal officials" are publicly awarded German citizenship "in acknowledgment of services rendered." Still, the total of Alsatians involved can hardly exceed 100,000.*

In Lorraine, the situation is equally obscure. Gauleiter Bürckel stated at an early date that only Reich Germans might live in that region. On the "First Day of Greater Germany in Lorraine" he announced that all members of the *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (see below 4, ii) would receive German nationality,† and there were allegedly 430,000 of them or almost the whole of the remaining population. Whether this intention has been carried out is not clear. If it has a very different policy would have been pursued in the two regions, since virtually the whole population in Lorraine would have received German nationality and only a small minority in Alsace. The remainder are, as in Luxembourg, still classed as *Volksdeutsche;* though subjects of the Reich, they are not full citizens of any country.

4. *Methods of Germanisation*

(i) *Education*

As in all other annexed territories, germanisation was carried out in those spheres most closely affecting the population. This is seen in such measures as the prohibition of speaking French in public under pain of "educational" arrest, the removal of all non-German inscriptions, place and street names, the removal of French monuments and the change of Christian and family names by decree. Particular care was taken in effecting these changes of name, and a special department was established in the *Gauschulungsamt Westmark* to arrive at the German equivalent of French names on an "ethnological and philological basis" (*e.g.*, Bour to Bauer, Dupont to Brückner). People who refused to change their names were deported to Germany and those

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* People who had opted for France in and after 1871 were allowed by the Imperial Government to remain in possession of their property.

* Wagner said in June, 1943: "The award of German citizenship is only just beginning."

† "NSZ *Westmark*," Metz edition, August 30th, 1942.

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who forgot to use their new names were sent to a concentration camp. March 1st, 1943, was set as the final date for the completion of the change and only descendants of Huguenot refugees were allowed to keep their French family names. The purge of all French books in public and lending libraries, on bookstalls and even in private libraries was equally thorough. Members of the SA and HJ called on private individuals and confiscated any French books, even prayer books, certificates and cookery books, the only exceptions being French globes and stamp collections.

As elsewhere, the most successful weapon of germanisation was school education. All private schools, which were mostly denominational, were closed or taken over. All schools, including former municipal schools, were placed under the supervision of the chiefs of Civil Administration and run as State schools.

By April, 1941, the whole system of Reich German education was in operation. The census of November, 1941, revealed the following status in the field of elementary education. It is compared where possible with the French census of 1931:—

everything has been done to put into practice what Schmidthenner, joint Minister of Education for Baden and Alsace, defined as "the complete uprooting of all remnants of French education."

Special stress was laid upon the extension of vocational education, which, according to the German system, became compulsory from the age of fourteen to eighteen. Thus the town of Mulhouse alone had, in September, 1943, five part-time vocational schools (two for trade, one each for commerce, domestic science and agriculture); six full-time vocational schools (one each for commerce, technicology, engineering, tailoring, domestic science, and a Commercial Upper School with university leaving certificate); in addition, the town had a *Staatliche Textilfachschule* (College for Textile Subjects), and a *Hochschulinstitut für Textilchemie* (College, with university standing, for Textile Chemistry). A State-run *Berufspädagogisches Institut* for social workers had been opened in Strasbourg and Teachers' Training Colleges in both regions. No less than 250 agricultural schools were planned for Lorraine. Of the Alsatian budget for 1942/43, as much as 72,340,000 Reichsmark were spent on education out of a total of 401 millions. It would be impossible to enlarge upon the countless schemes of the different Party organisations for ideological training, with crèches and schools for brides, and finishing with the compulsory Party meetings addressed by Party bosses.

Region	No. of Schools 1941	No. of Pupils 1941	No. of Teachers 1941	No. of Women Teachers included in this total 1941
Lorraine ...	1,720	70,452†	1,617	812
Alsace	1,041	133,506	2,843	1,376
Total	2,761	203,958	4,460	2,188
Total in 1931...	—	*215,927*	*6,666**	—

* Among them 5,242 lay and 1,424 *congréganiste* teachers.
† In 1942 there were 73,358 boys and girls in the elementary schools of Lorraine.

The greatest upheaval occurred in secondary education. Lorraine had, before the invasion, eight municipal and nineteen private schools, the latter mostly run by Roman Catholics. All these were closed, the priests were expelled or forbidden to teach, and sixteen State secondary schools of the German type were set up. It was claimed that 50 per cent. of the former secondary school teachers in Lorraine were metropolitan Frenchmen; they were replaced by Reich German teachers, mostly from the Saar territory and the Palatinate.

In Alsace there were twenty-one public secondary schools (including three for girls) before the invasion, besides a number of private schools; all of them were replaced by twenty-eight State secondary schools of the German type (among them five girl schools and three *Gymnasia* for boys) and 1 *Napola* in Rufach, founded in 1942. No figures of attendance or the number of scholars have yet been published and no comparison with the French status of 1932 (10,688 boys and 3,424 girls with 1,135 teachers in public schools) can be made. A great number of teachers were imported from the neighbouring German Gaue of Baden and Württemberg.

In post-primary education, the French *écoles primaires supérieures* (48 with 12,328 in Alsace-Lorraine in 1931) were first transformed into *Mittelschulen* and, from April, 1941, into the new German type of *Hauptschulen* (Central Schools), of which there were 61 in Alsace by mid-1943 and an unspecified number in Lorraine. The French language was forbidden in all schools (in higher education it was replaced by English); all in all,

Membership of the Hitler Youth and the BDM became compulsory for young people between ten and eighteen at the end of 1940, and was continued by service in the RAD, SA, DAF and NSF. Training schools for HJ leaders were started in the Convent of St. Vincent at Stahlheim and in Annweiler (Lorraine). The KDF branch of the DAF carried on adult education. It took over all the theatres in Alsace as *Volksbühnen* (People's Theatres). Another means of ideological training for the young was the Labour Service (RAD), which was made compulsory in Lorraine for both sexes between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five on April 23rd, and in Alsace on August 16th, 1941, applying to all *Volksdeutsche*. The decrees explained that Labour Service is an "honourable service without compensation for every young German, educating him for the German *Volksgemeinschaft* and the National Socialist conception of work." Many, if not all, adolescents were sent to Germany for their service.

A special note must be added on the University of Strasbourg. This was moved to Clermont-Ferrand, south of Vichy, at the beginning of the war, and there it has continued the work of all its faculties, in spite of German pressure to return.*

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* Only the Professor of Greek and two students returned.

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Soon after the Occupation, preparations were made for opening a purely German university, and as early as January, 1941, Karl Schmidt, since 1934 Professor of ophthalmic surgery in Bonn, and *Rektor* of that university since 1936, was nominated *Rektor* of Strasbourg. Simultaneously, deans for the faculties of Philosophy, Law and Political Science, Natural Sciences and Medicine, all from different German universities, were appointed. On April 20th, 1941, the foundation of a *Reichsuniversität Strassburg* was officially announced, together with that of Poznan (see above, II, 4), but the ceremonial opening did not take place until November 18th, when Rust, Meissner, Wagner and Schwander, the last Imperial *Statthalter* of Alsace-Lorraine, were present. As in the case of Poznan, Strasbourg University is administered not by the educational department of the regional governor, but by the Reich Minister of Education. The special mission assigned to Strasbourg as a " Nazi University of Greater Germany " was research into the " intellectual conflict between Central Europe and the West." Thus, it was said, France must be studied in all its aspects, but by experts who view her from the German and not from the French point of view. A chair for " racial science " was founded, but the faculties of divinity (there were some 250 Catholic and Protestant students in the French university before the occupation) were abolished. There were fifty-three full professors,* nineteen assistant professors, and eighteen lecturers on the staff in 1942 ; the university started with 800 students, of whom over 50 per cent. were from Reich German universities ; it was said to have had 2,754 students in the winter term of 1943/44.

Meanwhile, the Germans were trying to upset the work of Strasbourg University at Clermont-Ferrand ; persecution was intensified after the occupation of Vichy France, and reached its peak on November 25th, 1943, when the university was surrounded by military and police ; two professors and five students were shot dead and many arrests were made after all-night interrogations. Not until December 13th was the university re-opened after the inside had been demolished and everything of value removed.

(ii) *The Nazi Party*

With regard to the introduction of the Nazi Party system, Lorraine was treated differently from Alsace, probably because the autonomist movement there was decidedly weaker. In February, 1941, Bürckel created a *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (German People's Community), following the example he had set in the Saar territory during the plebiscite campaign of 1934. He made himself head of this movement, installing Eugène Foulé as his deputy. Within a short period 430,000 members were said to have been reunited in 233 local branches. As in Luxembourg, and later in " Upper Carniola," a fully-fledged Nazi Party organisation was afterwards superimposed. Its foundation was announced on July 30th, 1941, but it was not completed until mid-1943. Membership of the NSDAP proper was confined to Reich Germans and carefully selected native ethnic Germans. Contrary to the method applied in Alsace, all members of the *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* appear to have received German nationality (see above).

In Alsace, a fully-fledged NSDAP organisation was set up by Gauleiter Wagner on March 22nd, 1941, but it was not till May 30th that the first Alsations were claimed to have been admitted to it. By June, 1942, it was said that 15,169 Alsatians, and 3,185 *Altreichsdeutsche* were members ; a year later the number of Alsatians had only risen by 1,968, the number of Reich Germans, however, by 150,305. Those who had applied unsuccessfully for Party membership had to join the *Opferring Elsass* (Sacrifice Ring), where by financial efforts they could show their loyalty to the régime.

The development of affiliated organisations and para-military formations grew apace, and can be seen from the following table, which gives approximate membership figures from German sources (the figures refer to the summer of 1942) :—

Organisation	Date of Foundation		Membership	
	Lorraine	Alsace	Lorraine	Alsace
D. Volksgemeinschaft ...	8th February, 1941	—	430,000	—
NSDAP	30th July, 1942	22nd March, 1941	?	170,827
Opferring Elsass ...	—	22nd March, 1941	—	170,000§
SA	?	1st April, 1941	113 *Stürme**	13,101
SS	?	3rd April, 1941	12 *Stürme*	2,128
NSKK	April, 1942	April, 1942	68 *Stürme*	11,580
NSFK	?	?	9 *Stürme*	1,414
HJ and BDM	January, 1941	February, 1941	?	105,497
NSV	July, 1940	?	?	40,000
DAF	May, 1942†	1st July, 1942†	?	215,000
NSF	?	?	210 branches	78,747
KBO‡	?	1941	?	33,489

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* As acting Professor of English, Hans Galinski (formerly Lector for German in Manchester and London) was appointed ; he founded *Stützpunkt Manchester-Liverpool der NSDAP*.

* A *Sturm* (equivalent to a Company) has a strength of between 80 and 150.

† Dates refer to compulsory introduction.

‡ KBO stands for *Kriegsbund Oberrhein ;* it is a branch of the NS War Victim Welfare (NSKOV), see Chapter VII of Part II, page 170.

§ This figure was mentioned by the " *Völkischer Beobachter* " of January 3rd, 1943. For *Opferring* in general, see *ibidem*, page 168.

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(iii) *Economic Germanisation*

The absorption of industrial establishments will be taken here as an example. In Lorraine, the important heavy industry has been placed under a " Trustee " régime. The great iron and steel works have been handed over to the management of the chief firms in German heavy industry, who, in the main, had interests in Lorraine before the last war. For instance, the Thionville furnaces and foundries were handed to the Röchling group, the factories at Uckange to the Stumm group, and the Dillinger factories in Rombas to the Flick concern. The Klöckner works in Duisburg have taken over the *Société Metallurgique de Knutange*; the *Reichwerke Hermann Göring* were put in charge of *Les Petits Fils de François de Wendel* and of the *Union des Consommateurs de Produits Metallurgique,* which included Peugeot and Renault.

With regard to Alsace, the new régime has pursued the policy of leaving the ownership of works and factories in Alsatian hands. Jewish proprietors and directors, however, or Frenchmen who had settled in France after 1918, were replaced wherever possible by Alsatians. The textile industry was organised under a textile office on German lines, and joined to the Reich Textile Group. In all other spheres, Alsatian " economic groups " have also been created, and have become members of the corresponding Reich Economic Groups ; for instance, in the wood-working and saw-milling industries, and for the printing, brewing and retail trades. The Pechelbronn oil wells, producing over 70,000 tons in 1936, have been greatly enlarged, and are, of course, exploited for the benefit of the German war effort. More German penetration has taken place in the Alsatian machine and chemical industries, and the main public utilities are in German hands. The climax of economic germanisation was reached when all the different economic chambers for industry, commerce and craftsmen were united in November, 1943, in a *Gauwirtschaftskammer Oberrhein* (including Baden and Alsace), which had its head office in Strasbourg and two of its Alsatian branches in Colmar and Mulhouse. Lorraine was included in the Gau Economic Chamber Westmark, with its head office in Saarbrücken and one of its branches in Metz. In Alsace, the Reich Food Law under the all-embracing organisation of the Reich Food Estate, was introduced as late as May, 1944.

The supervision of all employed labour is, of course, under the DAF which, replacing the functions of the former trade unions* by its *Kreis* and local *Obmänner*, exercises strict political supervision and has appointed in each workshop, factory or trade establishment a *Vertrauensmann*, a reliable Party member, as intermediary between management and personnel. They ensure that French directors or higher employees are removed, for as *Gauschulungswalter* Werner Häusler said (" *Metzer Zeitung*," January 26th, 1943), " it is an indispensable condition of any business community that all should be of one blood and one race."

5. *The Reaction of the Indigenous Population.*

The attitude of the population of Alsace and Lorraine has not been very different from that of Luxembourg, in spite of the fact that the two regions under review were part of the Reich for forty-seven years. There has been, it is true, no general strike as in Luxembourg, nor—until quite lately—a visible " maquis " comparable to the Slovenian partisan movement. But in spite of the ever-recurring assertion that the " Alsatian problem " had been " liquidated," the tone of the press and the countless urgent appeals of the Gauleiters have shown the deep dissatisfaction of the population. The deportations after August, 1942, the sentences passed by the Special Courts, notably that of Strasbourg, and the fate of the inmates of the concentration camps, speak an even plainer language.

The subtle methods of resistance in the two regions can best be judged from a decree issued by Wagner in February, 1944, which was effective from August 1st, 1943. It was directed against " demonstrators harmful to the State," who were to be tried by the Special Court in Strasbourg and punished by imprisonment, penal servitude, or death. The " demonstrations " included refusal to give the Hitler salute, and the wearing of the *béret basque*, which has throughout been an object of annoyance to the Nazis. Nazi spokesmen even declared that it was a *Gehirnverdunkelungsmütze* (brain black-out cap), which did not fit the Germanic skull. After the beginning of the Anglo-American invasion of France, the situation appears to have become more strained. Severe measures against those listening to foreign broadcasts, spreading rumours and expressing " politically injurious " opinions were announced by the Commander of the Security Police, Wagner, who on June 25th, 1944, gave further warning to " those who are either standing aloof, or prefer to take an attitude of *attentisme*." " The Reich will remove them," he continued, " as soon as the right time has come . . . and I can assure these treacherous elements, they need not expect mercy. Certain death is all they deserve."

Even those who sympathised whole-heartedly with Germany between 1919/40 seem to be disappointed with the methods of germanisation and its centralising effect. The genuine regionalists stand aloof from both France and Germany, and look with envy at Switzerland. But the strongest element is made up of the several hundred thousand deportees, the more than 100,000 Alsatians and Lorrainers who stayed in metropolitan France, where they were exposed to the severest pressure, and the many Alsatians and Lorrainers who joined the Free French Movement.

B.—TERRITORIES APPENDED TO THE GERMAN REICH

The territories dealt with in Section A, together with Austria and " Sudetenland," were to be integral parts of the Greater German Reich, in which ultimately no alien " race " was to exist. They had to be germanised as a preparation for the settlement of people of purely German stock, in the sense of the term employed by Hitler and Himmler.

In contrast to these territories, the " Protectorate " created in March, 1939, as well as the " General Government " created in the late autumn of that year, while within the boundaries of the " Greater German Reich " were outposts rather than integral parts of it, since alien peoples were allowed to remain there. A different form of germanisation was therefore applied in these territories, and the methods chosen were again different in each case.

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* Fifteen trade unions were liquidated in Lorraine alone and their property confiscated for the benefit of the DAF.

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I.—The "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia"

1. *The strengthening of the German Minority*

When the "Protectorate" was created, its population according to the German census was 94·78 per cent. Czech and 3·39 per cent. German, the latter amounting to some 250,000 people among a total population of 7,380,000.[*] The extraordinary rights conferred by the statute of the "Protectorate" upon the quarter of a million Germans have been described in Chapter I. It has been the German policy not only to give the German element a leading position in every respect, but also to strengthen it numerically. A considerable increase has taken place through the influx of a host of officials who staffed the high departments of the Protector's offices and sub-offices all over the country,[†] not to mention the members of the German Police, SS, and of the Armed Forces under the command of the C.-in-C. *Wehrkreis Protektorat.*, Prague which had a population of 30,000 Germans before the invasion, was said to have had 250,000 in 1944[‡], but there are indications that as many as 450,000 actually were living there.

To strengthen the German hold on Bohemia and Moravia, a plan was devised to colonise the "waist" of the "Protectorate," *i.e.*, the belt between Lower Austria and eastern "Sudetenland," with German settlers, thus separating the two provinces demographically. A great number of Czech farmers were evicted, and Germans from the Reich, the Baltic region, Bessarabia and Southern Tyrol were given land there. But the execution of the plan has not progressed very far. Frank, in an address delivered in February, 1943, almost apologised for the "so-called removal of Czech farmers to other settlements," and claimed that only 4,931 farmers with their families had been settled in the "Protectorate," mostly "refugees from Bolshevism," amounting to less than 1 per cent. "of the total of 530,000 German settlers from the east threatened by Bolshevism." In the case of the linguistic island of Jihlava (Iglau), which contains thirty-two German villages, and whose population, according to the Czech census of 1930, was more than 50 per cent. German (26,000 out of a total of 40,000), a retrogressive movement was reported. The "*Kölnische Zeitung*" reported that owing to military service, war work and work in the Reich, "war has reduced the relative numbers of Germans as compared to the Czechs."

Failing the demographic germanisation of the area, enforced administrative germanisation was carried out with still greater vigour. As early as July 3rd, 1939, Neurath issued a decree which dissolved the elected Czech municipal administrations of Brno (the capital of Moravia), Jihlava, Olomuc, Moravska Ostrava and Budejovice, dismissed most of the Czech local officials and set up purely German administrations, with German as the sole official language. This step was said to be reparation for the measures taken by the Czech régime twenty years before, when they ejected the German administration in these five cities, "which up to 1910 had German majorities." According to the Czech census of 1930, however, there were only 110,000 Germans out of a total population of 500,000. The largest German group, amounting to 46 per cent. of the population, was in the town of Jihlava. Jihlava, the "*Kölnische Zeitung*" stated, is the only town in the "Protectorate" where the police wear the uniform of the Reich Police "because the population protested against policemen wearing Czech uniform."

As to Prague, special measures of germanisation were taken with the object of surrounding the town with an "iron Germanic circle." This consisted of eleven districts where, in 1940, a considerable number of Baltic ethnic Germans were settled. Inside Prague, some of the most attractive suburbs, such as Devjice, Bubenec and Orechovka, were transformed into purely German residential quarters. Prague was destined to become the cultural centre of the German thrust to the east and south-east, and eventually a purely German city.

With regard to Party organisation, the "Protectorate" was completely incorporated into the Reich. The southern fringes of the region were divided between the Party *Gaue* of Bayreuth, Upper Danube and Lower Danube; the central part, including Prague, was incorporated into Party *Gau* "Sudetenland," so that in all Party affairs Konrad Henlein is supreme.[*] The Hitler Youth has, however, been placed directly under the Reich Youth Directorate through *Befehlsstelle Böhmen und Mähren*. Its leader, Knoop, was given the Toscana Palace in Prague (September, 1943), as accommodation for his central offices. Pre-military training and arranging accommodation for thousands of evacuee children from the Reich constitute the chief occupations of the *Befehlsstelle*, but it is also responsible for the supervision of Czech youth (see below). The castle of Klecany (Kletzau) has been transformed into a *Gebiet* Leader School.

Cultural and educational infiltration was as thorough in the "Protectorate" as in the annexed territories, if not more so. Hand in hand with the elimination of all Czech institutes for learning and science (see below), the Germans built up their own educational system. The German university in Prague was re-opened in October, 1939, as the "Reich's University for the Eastern Commonwealth," the Prague Technical College was adapted as a German *Technische Hochschule* and combined with the Mining Academy, formerly situated at Pribram; one of the two technical colleges in Brno was also retained as a German *Technische Hochschule*. The German university constitution, with the "leadership principle," *Gau*-Lecturers and *Gau* student organisations, was introduced as a matter of course. The staffs were largely made up of Reich Germans, and only young people of German extraction were allowed to study; many of them were "Sudeten" Germans, for the *Reichsgau Sudetenland* was without any institute of learning, except the agricultural college of Tetschen. But many Reich Germans were ordered to study in Prague and Brno in order to strengthen these German "cultural fortresses." The Administrative Academy of Prague serves for the training of German public servants.

On the whole, these institutions were but a poor substitute for the flourishing intellectual life that prevailed in the highly-developed provinces of Bohemia and Moravia under the Czechoslovak Republic. The direction of Nazi cultural policy can best be seen from the prizes that have been offered

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[*] There were about 100,000 Jews in the "Protectorate" in March, 1939.

[†] It has been estimated that 12,000 German civil servants were employed in the "Protectorate" early in 1940. On the other hand, there have been reports that more than two million Germans were in the Protectorate on October 1st, 1943, excluding soldiers in hospitals.

[‡] "*Basler Nachrichten*," March 17th, 1944.

[*] For this geographical division, *see* Map of Party *Gaue*, Part II, facing page 172.

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for "Protectorate" Germans. "In order to honour and promote cultural achievements which help to make Bohemia and Moravia a cultural land of the Reich, the Peter Parler Cultural Endowment has been created" to be awarded by the municipality of Prague every two years to "promising German students with talents for art and science." The chairman of the endowment board was the President of the German Academy of Science. After 1941, the Charles University awarded an Eichendorff prize of the Goethe Endowment, whose president was Konrad Henlein. The winner in 1943, Professor Dr. Emil Lehmann, received the prize "in recognition of his researches into *Volkstum*, as an educationalist and a fighter in the Sudeten German struggle." The most insulting of these endowments, however, was the Reinhardt Heydrich Memorial Prize of 100,000 kronen, which was awarded after 1943 for German-Czech collaboration on the anniversary of the Gestapo chief's death. It was to be given to "any Czech individual or institution that has deepened Reich-mindedness, and the consciousness of the ties binding the people of Bohemia and Moravia to the Reich."

The main task of the "German Academy of Science" in Prague was, according to its President, Professor of Anatomy Otto Grosser, to help the German people to assert itself. Its activities, he said, therefore consist mainly in linguistic, ethnic, and historical research in the Sudeten area.

A complete German secondary school system has been created in the "Protectorate," which functions under the direct control of the Reich Minister of Education. By February, 1941, twenty secondary schools of the normal German type (among them four for girls) were in existence, with 4,932 pupils, of whom 106 were citizens of the "Protectorate," but of mixed Czech-German parentage. Considering the small number of Germans originally resident in the "Protectorate," the number of schools, as well as of pupils, is very high, particularly in comparison with two other annexed territories :—

Territory	German Population	No. of Secondary Schools		No. of Teachers		No. of Pupils		
		Boys	Girls	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Wartheland ...	1,000,000	20	3	212	111	2,791	784	3,575
Sudetenland ...	3,400,000	54	16	1,070	191	14,762	2,656	17,418
Protectorate ...	250,000	16	4	281	80	3,134	1,898	5,032

This system has been enlarged by the recent opening of special Nazi secondary schools. Thus a *Napola Böhmen* was opened on April 22nd, 1944, with branches at both Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg) and Roudnice (Raudnitz). Frank, who took over the patronage of the Institute, intended it to be an "effective expression of Bohemia's insoluble links with the Reich." A week later, on April 28th, 1944, an *Adolf Hitler Schule Böhmen-Mähren* was opened in Jihlava (Iglau) in the presence of Frank, Schirach, Ley, Gauleiter Jury (to whose Party jurisdiction the district belongs), the C.-in-C. of the *Wehrkreis*, and Petter, Commander of all Hitler Schools. Frank declared that Jihlava had been completely integrated into the "German people's soil," and that the new school expressed the fact that Bohemia and Moravia were not only old territories of the Reich (*Reichsland*), but had always been German cultural soil since the time of the Germanic tribes. Papp, the former leader of the "Protectorate" Hitler Youth, became headmaster.

The foundation of these schools is remarkable for the fact that they constitute the first purely German schools of this type on territory not immediately annexed to the Reich. The *Napolas*, moreover, are situated in regions with a purely Czech population.

A *Deutsche Heimschule* (German State Boarding School) with the status of secondary school was founded as early as 1941 by order of Hitler, and is supervised by SS-*Gruppenführer* Heissmeyer. There seem to be other schools of this type in the "Protectorate."

The number of German elementary and intermediate schools* has been increased from 138 in March, 1939, to 293 in April, 1941, and the number of pupils has risen from 16,000 to 32,000.† In order to separate German and Czech children as much as possible, school homes (forty-two in 1942) have been attached to these schools, in which 2,000 children were boarded. A great drive has been started to train German teachers. Special courses are held at universities and summer camps to acquaint them with the "special requirements which this territory imposes upon German teachers" and with Nazi principles of education. Twelve Teachers' Training Institutes (*Lehrbildungsanstalten*) had been opened by October, 1943, most of them in purely Czech towns.

2. *Negative Germanisation*

(i) *Destruction of Czech Intellectual Life*

Czechoslovakia had sixteen institutes of university status, including four universities, four technical colleges, one academy of arts and four State conservatories for music. The German population was well provided for by the German university at Prague, a technical college at Brno, and a State conservatory at Prague. Student demonstrations on October 28th, 1939, the anniversary of national liberation, and the large attendance at the funeral of the medical student, Jan Opletal, who had been arrested and beaten to death by the Gestapo, not only resulted in raids by Gestapo, SS, SA and German students in Prague and Brno, and mass arrests of students and professors, but also in the closing down of all Czech institutes of learning. Among others, those involved were :—

The Czech universities of Prague and Brno.
The Commercial Academy in Prague.
The Mining Academy in Pribram.
The Agricultural Academy in Prague.

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* The so-called *Bürgerschulen* were transformed into *Hauptschulen* in 1941.

† German schools were opened in towns with overwhelming Czech majorities, *e.g.*, Litomyšl (7,084 Czechs, 82 Germans), Tabor (14,090 Czechs, 53 Germans), Blatno (3,058 Czechs, 14 Germans), Netolice (2,249 Czechs, 16 Germans).

The Veterinary High School in Brno.

The Huss Theological Faculty of Prague University.

The Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at Olomouc.

Ten Czech Teachers' Training Colleges.

Twenty thousand students, 800 professors and over 1,000 assistant lecturers were dismissed, and many remained under arrest for a long time. 124 students, among them three girls, were shot before the eyes of their fellow students on November 18th, 1939, and many of those students who had been released were suffering from serious injuries and were crippled for life. Some of the women students committed suicide after their release.

The buildings involved were either used by the Nazis for their germanised institutes, or transformed into administrative offices. Thus, the buildings of the law faculties in Prague and Brno became the headquarters of the SS, and the philosophical faculty of Brno was the seat of the German *Oberlandrat.* Valuable scientific equipment, as, for instance, all platinum and radium, microscopes and slides, were removed to Germany. The Nazis took possession of many valuable libraries, and destroyed a number of manuscripts. Among them was the dictionary of Czech dialects compiled by Professor Janko, and the history of Czechoslovak literature by Professors Jakubec and Vleck. Amongst the 25,000 Czech societies dissolved were all the learned societies, including the Czech Academy of Learning, founded under Josef II in 1794. The Botanical Gardens of the Czech University of Prague were transferred to the German university.

The responsibility of Baron von Neurath for these acts of barbarity is established beyond any doubt. On November 19th, 1939, he issued an announcement containing the following sentence: "As these elements in October and November committed acts of aggression against certain Germans, the Czech institutions of higher education have been closed for a period of three years." He also issued a decree ordering the dismissal of ex-students employed as male nurses on the ground that they might indirectly be continuing their medical studies. A further decree in April, 1940, ordered all ex-students to find manual labour within forty-eight hours, failing which they would be deported for forced labour to Germany. When, in the autumn of 1940, the "autonomous" government humbly begged for permission to re-open the university, Neurath brusquely refused, and declared that the closing of it was only "making good an old injustice."

The reasons for these and other measures of the same nature had, of course, nothing to do with either demonstrations of national loyalty nor with the reparation of old "injustice"; they were part and parcel of a scheme to deprive a whole nation of its intellectual life. "The Czech people has no other duty but to work and to produce children," wrote "*Der Neue Tag,*" Neurath's official paper after the occupation; the "*Völkische Beobachter*" dryly stated that "the Czechs have a young educated class that is much too numerous. We must prevent too large a number of their young people from studying, and see that they engage to a greater extent in trade and commerce"; and a Sudeten German leader put the problem into a nutshell when he stated that the aim of Nazi policy in Bohemia was "to smash the brain out of the Czechs." Consequently, secondary school education was also attacked, and Neurath not only closed down 30 per cent. of all schools during 1940, but, in the autumn of 1941, issued a decree, according to which only 35 per cent. of the pre-occupation numbers were to be admitted. "For the Czechs, as a working people (*Arbeitervolk*), elementary schools are quite sufficient," declared one of Neurath's leading education officials. This attitude necessitated a complete reform of the Czech educational system.

The man to carry out this adaptation with complete submission to the Germans was found when, on January 19th, 1942, the "autonomous" government was re-shuffled under Krejci, and Colonel Emanual Moravec was appointed Czech Minister for Education and Public Enlightenment. Moravec re-organised the Czech secondary and elementary school systems on Reich German lines.

He summoned the directors of all Czech grammar schools and newly-established teachers' training colleges to a ten days' conference in March, 1943, and enumerated the wrongs committed by the Czech intelligentsia during the "Beneš period," declaring that the first task of Czech teachers was to foster the Reich idea among the Czechs.* With German help and advice, all school libraries were purged, and new text-books compiled for all types of schools. The children were to be taught that the Czechoslovak Republic was an historical mistake, and the army a danger to world peace. Teachers were strictly forbidden to make any reference to the history of the Czech nation, but they had to explain that from 1919 to 1939 the Czechs were misled, until Hitler showed them the way to real freedom. Thus, the educational resources available to Czech children were completely germanised, and as early as June 3rd, 1939, Neurath issued a decree making teachers personally responsible for their pupils' attitude to Hitler, the German army and the Reich. In contrast to this attitude it should be remembered that the German minority in Czechoslovakia had had at their disposal 3,281 elementary schools, 73 secondary schools, 446 continuation schools, 10 teachers' training colleges, two universities, two technical high schools, all staffed by Germans and maintained by the State. Instruction had been in German, and there was no compulsion to learn Czech. Under the Nazi régime, German became a compulsory language in all Czech schools at the expense of the Czech language.

The confiscation of Czech art treasures, the suppression of Czech literature, the confiscation of Czech theatres (Prague had one Czech theatre left as against three German; in Brno all theatres were run by Germans in the German language), the destruction of libraries and bookshops, the germanisation of cinemas and the radio system (*e.g.*, Melnik station only broadcast in Czech for one hour per day), cannot be dealt with here. The nineteen Czech language papers and 436 periodicals allowed to continue publication (March, 1944) were a mere repetition of the German propaganda ministry directives, and subject to a strict fourfold censorship by (1) the "autonomous" Czech government, (2) the central censorship department of the German Ministry of State, (3) the local German censorship of the Gestapo, and (4) the military authorities.

The culminating step in the intellectual fettering of the Czech people was the introduction of compulsory youth service for all Czech boys and girls of "Aryan descent," which was decreed by

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* See "*Der Neue Tag,*" Prague, March 20th, 1943. The same ideas were expounded during a meeting of school inspectors for elementary schools in July, 1943.

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the Acting Reich Protector (then Heydrich) on May 28th, 1942. Its execution was entrusted to a Board of Governors for the education of Czech Youth (*Kuratorium für Jugenderziehung in Böhmen und Mähren*), which had the same powers as the Reich Youth Directorate in Germany, *i.e.*, the supervision of the entire activities of young people "outside the home and the school." The *Kuratorium* consisted of a President (Moravec) and a Board of Governors, the Secretary-General being Dr. Franz Teuner.* All youth associations approved by it are compelled to follow its instructions, and youth leaders are trained under its supervision. District Trustees are in charge in all the eighty *okresi*. Close co-operation with the Hitler Youth is maintained. Moravec declared on July 7th, 1944, that he had completed the organisation, and that 500,000 boys and 100,000 girls were taking part in the scheme, and were to be joined by 120,000 young people every year. "Under the St. Wenceslas emblem and the Czech and Reich flags," he said, "the organisation forms such a powerful and united aryanisation of Czech youth as has never existed before." Czech youth leaders were exhorted to see to it that the ties between "true patriotism, racial pride and Reich alliance, which were so stupidly severed in the past, are re-established." Teuner, when accepting the Heydrich Memorial Prize on June 4th, 1944, said that the "Reich, the symbol of order, social justice and cultural greatness, presented the young Czech with the living image of the ideal forms of life. . . . Our first steps in the field of political training were supported by Czech history."

(ii) *Economic Germanisation*

Economic germanisation and the exploitation and scientific pillage of the vast resources of Bohemia and Moravia, not to speak of "Sudetenland," is so complete that it is unnecessary to give details.† It may perhaps suffice to quote the estimate of the well-known Czech industrialist, Dr. Jan Bata, who assumed that the German plunder of public and private property in the "Sudetenland" alone represented a sum of about 40,000 million Czech crowns (£294 million), and in the whole of Czechoslovakia about 240,000 million crowns (£1,764 million) up to the outbreak of war. This sum represents the value of war material and State property, and of the property of Czech and Jewish concerns and private individuals, which was confiscated without compensation and became the property of the Reich or of individual Germans. The losses suffered by the Czechs in six months of Nazi "protection" were higher in proportion than those incurred by the Germans under the Versailles Treaty after four years of war.

The greatest asset Nazi Germany found in the "Sudetenland" and the "Protectorate" was the property of State and public corporations, including that of the churches and dissolved societies, and the property of Jews. The Reich Minister of the Interior published a decree of July 12th, 1939, according to which "all real and movable property which at 6 a.m. on March 15th belonged to the former Czechoslovak state and served its army, air force or meteorological service," was declared the property of the Reich. This brought heavy industry, the chemical industry and its subsidiaries, into German hands. 3,400,000 hectares of forests and arable land, acquired by the State as a result of the land reform, were largely absorbed by the German "Endowment for the promotion of land reform and for the support of settlers in the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia" (*Siedlungsgesellschaft*). This corporation confiscated, without compensation, not only all the State forests and estates, but also land belonging to public and private institutions and individuals. The confiscated property was held in trust for future German settlers. On the other hand, 40,000 Czech farmers in the "Sudetenland" were ordered by Henlein in July, 1939, to move into Bohemia without compensation for the loss of their property. Land had to be found for them by the "autonomous" government.

Enormous booty was derived from what was declared to be Jewish property. Neurath for a long time tried in vain to force the "autonomous" government to issue decrees which covered the same ground as the Nuremberg laws, but not until April 24th, 1940, did they yield and publish an order regarding the legal position of the Jews in public life. In the meantime, the expropriation of "Jewish" property and the expulsion of persons considered to be Jewish had gone so far as to make the decree a mere formality. For on June 21st, 1939, Neurath had issued the *Verordnung des Reichprotektors über das jüdische Vermögen*,* which settled the problem in a way that made "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" Czechs suffer alike, and paved the way for wholesale germanisation of the most important sections of Czech economy. Neurath's decree declared any concern as Jewish if there were a single Czech of Jewish origin in the management, those with even one Jewish grandparent falling into this category. As the decree expressly stated that no single piece of confiscated or transferred property could be given to a Czech citizen, "Aryan" Czech partners had also to quit.

The *Dresdener Bank* and the *Deutsche Bank* (the latter the financier of the Nazi Party) were entrusted with the task of expropriating the funds belonging to Czech banking concerns.

With the appointment of Dr. Walter Bertsch as Minister of Economy and Labour in the "autonomous" government in January, 1942, Czech industry was finally incorporated into the German system, and Czech labour organised on German lines for the German war effort. With regard to economic and social administration, labour conditions and the dominance of leading German associations, all differences between the "Protectorate" and other annexed territories were finally abolished. The Central Association of Czech Industry had twenty-two groups, sixteen of which were headed by German presidents.

3. *Attitude of the Czechs*

The "plots" in the summer and autumn of 1931, the trial of Prime Minister General Alias, Heydrich's assassination and the subsequent annihilation of Lidice—these showed how little the pacification of Bohemia and Moravia had succeeded. But even if no such dramatic events have occurred since, the daily publication in the "Protectorate" press of heavy sentences by the Special Courts, the subsequent executions, and the long weekly lists of expropriation of "enemies of the State," show that resistance has never died

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* Teuner is a Czech subject, brought up in Vienna, where his father was physician to the Emperor Francis Josephus.

† For details of this process see Eugene V. Erdely, "Germany's First European Protectorate. The Fate of the Czechs and Slovak's," Hale, London, 1942; and Cecily Mackworth, "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," Lindsay Drummond, 1942. Also a number of publications issued by the Czechoslovak Government in London.

* See Kreiser, "*Das Neue Recht in Böhmen und Mähren*," Prague, 1943, page 1045. Section F of this publication (pages 1015–1065) reproduces the whole body of anti-Jewish legislation in the Protectorate up to the end of 1942.

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down.* After the German failure to transform Rudolf Gajda's Fascist Party† into the "Czech National-Socialist Workers' Party," and to boost it into power, all attempts have ceased to rally the Czech people politically to the German side.

Cajolery and threats by collaborationists and Nazi governors have been less pronounced than, for instance, in Luxembourg and Alsace-Lorraine, but uneasiness permeated the eulogies expressed on the fifth anniversary of the "New Order in Bohemia-Moravia." Frank then said that the Reich would know how to eliminate attempts to disturb "natural development," and that it possessed the means to meet any rising. Since the invasion of France, the small militia of 7,000 men which the government was permitted to recruit has been sent abroad. The Swiss paper "*Der Bund*" expressed the view on March 15th, 1944, that "no one can ignore the fact that the burning will to resistance among the Czechs only awaits the moment for action. Responsible German circles indulge in no illusions about that."

II.—The "General Government"

1. *The Demographic Situation*

(i) *Population Movements, other than German*

In no other part of German-occupied Europe have the Germans caused such an upheaval of the population as in Central Poland. When the Nazi authorities held a census on March 31st, 1943, they found that the population had been reduced by over 1,800,000 people since June, 1940; comparing this total with the figures for August, 1939, the decrease amounts to 2,300,000. The chief reason is the deportation of Polish workers into the Reich. On March 23rd, 1943, Governor-General Frank proudly announced that the two-thousandth train carrying the millionth worker had left the "Government General"; two months later (May 25th) the official figure was 1,430,000.

Various trends and movements are involved in these changes, which constitute a constant interchange of population. There are, firstly, the losses of the Polish people during hostilities in the autumn of 1939 in dead, prisoners, and soldiers who escaped abroad. There are also the prisoners who fell into Russian hands, the considerable number of Polish subjects deported from Eastern Galicia during the Russian occupation between September, 1939, and June, 1941, and the losses the population incurred in this region during the fighting in the summer of 1941.‡ On the other hand, there has been a considerable influx of people into the "General Government" under Nazi rule. 400,000 Jews and about 1,200,000 Poles are estimated to have been deported into the "General Government" from the incorporated eastern territories. Up to the end of 1942, a further 430,000 Jews from the Reich, Western and Northern Europe and Slovakia were deported to the "General Government," and another 60,000 Jews had fled there during hostilities in 1939. This accounts for the fact that between September, 1939, and June, 1940, the population of the "General Government" (excluding Galicia) increased by about 400,000. Further movements took place towards the east. Thus, it is known that between August, 1941, and the end of 1942, the Germans transferred some 40,000 White Russians and Ukrainians and 182,000 Polish workers in 1939/40 to the Reich Commissariats.

The latest movement has been that of Hungarian Jews to the "General Government," of whom between 100,000 and 250,000 were sent between April and July, 1944. The deportations must have then ceased, possibly because the Russian armies had occupied the greater part of the territory. The number of Jews in the "General Government" was stated to be 2,093,000 on December 1st, 1942.* There were originally about 1,400,000 Jews in the four districts occupied before 1941; some 300,000 Jews were in the district of Eastern Galicia when it was attached to the "General Government" (1st August, 1941), and about 900,000 had been sent there from other parts of Europe. Thus, even if the figures issued on 1st December, 1942, were correct, 600,000 Jews are not accounted for. These, and many more since, have either been put to death or sent as forced labour into German-occupied Russian territories.

The national distribution of the population in the spring of 1942 was stated to be :—

Poles	11,300,000
Ukrainians	4,029,000†
Jews	2,092,000
Gorals‡	90,000
Ethnic Germans ...	75,000
White Russians ...	15,000
Russians	6,500
Total	17,607,500§

(ii) *Germans*

There were about 160,000 ethnic Germans in the area of the "General Government" before the outbreak of war. The only closed settlement area was round Cholm (Lublin area), and these Germans, numbering 30,500, were re-settled in the incorporated territories, as were also 55,500 Germans from Eastern Galicia (see above, A, II, 3). Thus only 70,000 ethnic Germans were left in the "General Government" in the spring of 1942, when their distribution was declared to be as follows :—

District	*No. of Ethnic Germans*
Radom	31,000
Warsaw	25,000
Cracow	10,000
Galicia	3,000
Lublin	1,000

Late in 1942 and early in 1943, German settlers from the U.S.S.R., Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia,

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* Between October 3rd and October 31st, 1943, for instance, thirty-two executions and the names of 800 people whose property was declared forfeit, were reported in the official "Protectorate" papers. At the same time a mass trial took place in Olomonc against 519 Czechs accused of "terrorist activities." On February 2nd, 1944, the Special Court in Prague tried thirteen people for black listening and sabotage, three being sentenced to death and executed.

† Gajda's Party had six seats out of 300 in the last parliament.

‡ Figures as high as 1·2 to 1·5 million people were mentioned for Eastern Galicia; most of whom were sent to Russia during the period of hostilities in the summer of 1941.

* According to the periodical "*Ostland*" of December 1st, 1942. Almost the same figure (2,092,000) was given by the "*Krakauer Zeitung*" of July 15th, 1942. Between July and December, 1942, large-scale deportations to Russia have taken place. The places of residence listed by "*Ostland*" quoted above, are completely inadequate for such a large population.

† Of these, some 700,000 in the eastern fringes of districts Lublin and Cracow. Polish census figures (1931) for Eastern Galicia only give 2,540,000 Ukrainians.

‡ A special tribe in the mountains of the Beskides. The name means "people of the mountains."

§ The Table is taken from the "*Krakauer Zeitung*," July 15th, 1942, which quotes a special issue of the "*Europaische Revue*" on ethnic groups in the "General Government."

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Croatia and Bessarabia, numbering some 25,000 to 30,000, took the place of the evicted German settlers in the Lublin area in order to form a German "wall" on the eastern border; thus the 100,000 said to be organised in the *Deutsche Gemeinschaft* (see below) represent the sum total of ethnic Germans. In addition, the influx of Reich German civilians was, of course, considerable. "200,000 Germans have the tremendous task of governing 18,000,000 foreigners in the General Government," declared the Nazi chief of Warsaw, *Bereichsleiter* Bodo Stahr, on August 17th, 1942. Their number was probably swelled to 300,000 by the end of 1943, excluding bombed-out evacuees. Cracow, for instance, which had 500 Germans in 1931, was officially stated to have 30,000 (or 10 per cent. of the total) in August, 1942, most of them Austrians.

2. *The NSDAP as an Instrument of Germanisation*

The Party evolved in the "General Government" a new organisational form, which was later to be initiated in Norway and Holland. On May 6th, 1940, Governor Frank created the *Arbeitsbereich Generalgouvernement der NSDAP*, of which he made himself the leader (*Leiter*). The "working area" had its headquarters in Cracow, and two deputies, Richard Schalk, as *Generalbevollmächtigter Vertreter*, and Adolf Stahl, as *Stellvertreter im Amt*, were in charge of the actual administration. In February, 1944, Stahl was replaced by Walter Tiessler, and in March Schalk was, without being replaced, made *Landesinspekteur* (Regional Inspector) of the "General Government," a civil service post created to direct affairs in the regions threatened by the advance of the Russian armies. The Party Central Offices in Cracow included a Leader of Staff (Stahl, later Tiessler), two Leadership Departments (*Führungsamt* I and II), and fourteen sections (*Hauptarbeitsgebiete*) for:—

1. Organisation.
2. Party and Finance Administration.
3. Personnel.
4. Ideological Training (*Schulung*).
5. Propaganda.
6. Press.
7. NS People's Welfare.
8. *Fraueneinsatz* (Women's Work).
9. Party Court.
10. German Youth.
11. Social Questions.
12. Physical Education.
13. Economics.
14. *Deutsche Gemeinschaft* (German Community.)

Regional and district organisation strictly followed the administrative units, the five *Distriktgouverneure* being the leaders of the corresponding *Distriktstandortführungen* and the local administrative leaders being leaders of *Standorte* of the NSDAP, of which there were about 160.

The functions of the NSDAP were outlined by Stahl as follows: "The Party's task is not to make the mass of the people of the General Government Nazi-minded, but to see that the leadership here is German," and he added the significant statement, "There are great chances for the Germans in the General Government. Here the sun shines primarily for the Germans."*

Although membership of the "working area" of the NSDAP is severely restricted and mainly confined to Reich Germans—there were never more than 20,000 members—the main activities of the Party were seen in the supervision of the whole German community. This was divided into three categories:—

(*a*) *Reichsdeutsche* or *Deutsche Staatsangehörige* (Reich German nationals), whether resident before the occupation or newly admitted into the area as officials, agricultural leaders, labour leaders, business men, etc.

(*b*) *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans), defined as "persons who, without being of German nationality, profess themselves to be members of the German people, in so far as this profession is supported by descent, language, mental attitude, education or other circumstances." These Germans were organised since May, 1941, in a special organisation, the *Deutsche Gemeinschaft* (German Community), a body comparable to the VDB in Luxembourg, the Home League in Styria, and the *Deutsche Gemeinschaft* in Lorraine. The organisation was run by Section 14 of the Central Party Office (see above). In October, 1942, about 100,000 ethnic Germans had received their identity cards, which would eventually provide the basis for the acquisition of German State Membership and "complete equality with Reich Germans," as Frank formulated it. In fact their position corresponded with that of Group II of the "People's List" in the annexed regions.

(*c*) *Deutschstämmige* (Poles of German ancestry), defined as "persons of German ancestry, but not possessing the identity card of either (*a*) or (*b*)." This category, including also non-Germans married to Germans if there were children by the marriage, was invented in October, 1941, when it was alleged that in the "General Government," as in the annexed Polish territories, "a large number of Germans existed who, in spite of their German origin, had in the course of centuries been estranged from their nationality." On January 4th, 1943, the Governor-General started a new drive for applications to this group, which resembled in every way groups III and IV of the "People's List." He fixed March 15th as the closing date. Results are not known, but if the claim of the HJ leadership in April, 1943, that over a million boys and girls were included in the age group 1932/33 is correct, an enormous number of Poles must have been forced into this category.

The chief activity of the Party has always been the education of these various "German" categories, first, of course, politically, but also generally, as, for instance, in the teaching of the German language. In this the usual formations and affiliated organisations assisted.

The SA had eleven *Standarten* and 150 *Stürme* (approximately 15,000 men), the NSFK had fifteen and the NSKK twenty-four *Stürme*, and organisations of HJ, RAD, DAF and NSV completed the supervision of all German activities. In the town of Czenstochowa, for instance, there was a German community of 1,000 in a total population of 180,000. The town was divided into eight cells and thirty-two blocks; seventeen male and nine female representatives of the DAF supervised the work of the German population. It is significant that 400 Germans had to attend German language courses.

The busiest among the Party formations was the Hitler Youth, organised (as in the "Protectorate")

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* Reported in the "*Krakauer Zeitung*" of August 13th, 1943.

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under the *Befehlsstelle GG der Reichsjugendführung Krakau.* Since January its chief has been *Hauptbannführer* Schimmelpfeng, who is simultaneously chief of Section 10, *Deutsche Jugend,* of the central Party office. The HJ (in 1942 some 18,000 boys and girls organised in thirteen *Banne*) extended its activities, especially after compulsory *Jugenddienst* (youth service) was introduced by a decree of October 4th, 1943. *Jugenddienst* applied to young people of all three categories between ten and eighteen years of age. The chief object of this and similar earlier steps was to get away from their homes children intended to be germanised, either by sending them into German boarding schools, or into land service camps in the " General Government " or KLV camps in Germany. An illustration of this policy is furnished by a report that 2,000 children from the " General Government " who had been sent to Saxony and Bayreuth for a year " in order to learn the ways and customs of German life " returned to Cracow in July, 1943."*

In April, 1943, a special organisation, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugendbetreuung,* was created to co-ordinate the work of all elements concerned in the germanisation of ethnic German youth, comprising Party, administration, army, RAD, police, HJ, and NSV, which looks after children up to the age of ten.

3. *Germanisation of Education*

As in the " Protectorate," all higher education in the field of learning and science is denied to the inhabitants of the " General Government " and, as in the annexed Eastern Territories, all secondary education is denied to the Poles, though it is, to a certain extent, permitted to the Ukrainians. Elementary education and vocational training is given to the non-German population, but is organised entirely by Germans. The German educational system has been introduced for the resident Germans in the " General Government," who are provided with facilities for education and political training on a lavish scale.

(i) *Higher Education*†

The " General Government " had the following institutions of university rank :—

Universities at Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin‡ and Lvov.
Engineering Colleges at Warsaw and Lvov.
Mining Academy at Cracow.
Academies for Fine Arts at Warsaw and Cracow.
College for Veterinary Science at Lvov.
College for Agriculture at Warsaw.
College for Economics at Warsaw and Cracow.
College for Foreign Trade at Lvov.
College for Political Science at Warsaw and Cracow.
College for Dentistry at Warsaw.

In addition, there was a Free University, maintained by the combined adult educational associations in Warsaw.

All these colleges and all public and private institutions of learning and science were closed by the Germans, or, like the observatories in Warsaw and Cracow, the great libraries, the agricultural research institute in Pulawy, were taken over. The events at Cracow university in November, 1939, were particularly revolting, and led to a systematic annihilation of the Polish intelligentsia.

What alternative had the Nazi régime to offer in the way of *Kultur* ? On April 9th, 1940, a decree announced the foundation of an *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* in Cracow, destined to be the central institute for German research in the " General Government." The section for philosophy and history consisted of seven departments for pre-historical research, history, history of art, *Volkskunde* (racial science, with a special division for Jewish research), slavonic philology, law and political science. The science section contained four departments—for regional geography (including a special division for " the German eastern space "), agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and timber economy. On April 4th, 1941, the solemn opening of the State Library in Cracow, said to be the finest building on the Continent, took place. On the same day, the foundation of the Kopernikus University in Cracow was proclaimed (Kopernikus being declared an ethnic German), which was to have three faculties—biology, natural science and engineering, and philosophy—but this never materialised. Soon after, in May, an academy of fine arts in Cracow was named after the mediæval German architect of Cracow cathedral, Veit Stoss, and an annual Veit Stoss Prize for the " promotion of German art in the General Government " was created to the value of 50,000 Zloty. Cracow also became the seat of a German Administrative Academy, which trained the hosts of German civil servants needed for all branches of administration. After the incorporation of Eastern Galicia, a Medical and Natural Science School was opened in Lvov as " *Staatliche Medizinisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Fachkurse.*" Further steps in the progress of German *Kultur* in the " General Government " were the formation on July 23rd, 1943, of a *Kulturvereinigung* (cultural association) by Governor Frank for the " revival of European culture," followed on December 19th by the foundation of the *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Society of Science), also in Cracow, for the purpose of " creating a general system for all scientific currents and tendencies in the " General Government " as a proof of our well-developed culture and of German spirituality, as opposed to the materialistic philosophy of the Bolshevik adversary." Its activities, it was announced, would be crowned after the war by the organisation of the " University of the old German town of Cracow." Cracow was also endowed with a German State Theatre, a German orchestra, and a Philharmonic Society, while a German playhouse was opened in Lvov. The almost complete neglect of all other centres, except Cracow, shows that the replacement of Polish intellectual life by Nazi *Kultur* was nothing but a personal effort on the part of the Governor-General for the furthering of his own ambitions. He also founded, in his capacity as leader of the Party, in August, 1943, a " cultural prize of the NSDAP," to be awarded for outstanding cultural achievements in the " General Government " according to " Nazi ideology and *Volkstumsarbeit.*" Six months later another prize was offered by Frank, the *Ostpreis Deutscher Kultur des GG,* which made three awards annually of 50,000 Zloty each for the best productions in German poetry and music.

(ii) *School Education*

A *Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht,* with Professor Eichholz at its head, was set up in

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* " *Lizzmannstädter Zeitung* " (Lodz), July 14th, 1943.

† The Polish Republic had twenty-four academic institutes with 48,000 students and 3,759 lecturers, and 784 secondary schools with 200,000 scholars in 1939. There were fifteen *Gymnasia* for Germans (with 3,000 scholars) where all instruction was given in German. For Polish cultural life, see Michael Murray, " Poland's Progress 1919/39," London, Murray, 1944.

‡ Private Roman Catholic University.

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the Governor-General's central department in Cracow. The following sections were attached to Department I (Science and Adult Education): the Central Administration of all Research Libraries, which purged and plundered the many libraries of Poland; a Central Office for Public Libraries, which germanised the institutions for adult education; a Central Office for Film and Illustration Material (issued for educational purposes), and an office for the " protection " of monuments, which was responsible for the removal of Polish works of art of this nature. The forty-six museums were also under the control of the department, while press, film and broadcasting were controlled by the *Hauptabteilung Propaganda*. School education was under the supervision of Department II, " Education and Instruction."

The basic decree was that of October 31st, 1940, which ordered the re-opening of all elementary schools (these had been closed for more than a year), and officially confirmed the discontinuance of post-primary Polish education. The number of Polish teachers was reduced, as there were " far more than necessary," and the following categories were dismissed :—

(*a*) All politically unreliable teachers and those with a bad reputation.

(*b*) Double wage earners.

(*c*) Those who had not the necessary scholastic qualifications.

It was expressly decreed that teachers from the dissolved secondary schools must not be employed in elementary schools. In elementary schools, the teaching of geography, history and German was suspended until new text-books had been compiled. For the time being, a magazine in Polish " *Ster* " (The Helm), which had a circulation of 600,000, provided the material for elementary instruction. In every place where ten or more German children of school age were resident a German school had to be opened. The Jewish Councils in the ghettoes were obliged to run elementary schools for Jewish children at their own expense, supervised by the German school authorities in Cracow.* A thorough reform of school education in the " General Government " was announced.

By the beginning of 1944 the result of this policy was seen in the following figures issued by the Nazi administration: (*a*) denotes elementary schools and (*b*) secondary schools, *Oberschulen* for Germans and Grammar Schools for Ukrainians (*i.e.*, classical high schools).

Schools for	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers
Germans : (*a*) ...	331	27,000	773
(*b*) ...	11	3,614	164
Ukrainians : (*a*) ...	4,182	600,000	10,000
(*b*) ...	12	?	?
Poles (*a*)	8,465	1,400,000	15,000

In addition, there were fifty-nine private elementary schools for Poles, and one each for " White Ruthenians and Russians."

There were about 12,000 elementary schools in the area in 1935/36. But the German figures are open to doubt. As the whole of Poland had only 26,603 elementary school teachers, it is highly improbable that 25,000 were employed in an area less than half its size. When the Germans opened the sixtieth Polish elementary school in Warsaw in June, 1943, they claimed that the town had now more schools than before the war. Yet the number was 384 in 1935. With regard to attendance, this was about 2,200,000 children in 1935, including Jewish children, a fact that makes the official German figure improbable.

The Germans possessed three teachers' training colleges (one in Novy Sacz, another in Gorlice in the building of the Polish classical high school, and the third in Tomaszow, opened in June, 1944). The Ukrainians had six colleges. The Germans had also *Schulheime* (hostels) attached to forty-nine of their schools (ten of them in Cracow), where 5,000 pupils were boarded. The sixtieth *Deutsche Heimschule* (German Boarding School, run by the SS) was opened in Skiernewice in February, 1944.

The Germans were very proud of their liberal treatment of the Ukrainians who, though constituting one-third of the population, had double the facilities available to the Poles, and the right to secondary education. They have also stressed with pride their liberality to the Roman Catholics, claiming that Roman Catholic schools had remained " untouched." Yet it seems strange that they should state that out of 25,000 teachers, only 2,791 should profess the Roman Catholic faith in a country which is predominantly Roman Catholic.

When surveying the school reform, which was said to have been completed by May, 1944, Eichholz drew a comparison between the Polish and the Nazi régime. Under the former, he said, Polish schools had been institutions for the " spreading of knowledge and theoretical learning." The new schools under his guidance, he said, were to be " proficiency schools," providing for knowledge that leads to " orderly work," and laying the foundation for the " occupational development of Polish youth as efficient skilled workers in agriculture and industry." The basic subjects to be taught were Polish, religious instruction, natural history, arithmetic, handicraft, geography, drawing and singing. It is interesting that in contrast to the " Protectorate " neither history nor German was taught. New text-books, said to have been compiled as the result of a competition " in which Polish teachers took an active part," were issued later. " Higher education " for young Poles between fourteen and twenty years of age was provided by vocational training schools, " open to the rich as well as to the poor." For this purpose an Institute for the Promotion of Trades was founded in Cracow in March, 1944, to supervise the seventy-five Polish, three Ukrainian and six German full-time vocational schools, and the twenty-eight schools for artisans which then existed. The *Kreisschulräte* (District School Inspectors), all German, were to have special advisers to put the new reforms into practice, but the nationality of those advisers has not been stated.

Teachers in German schools were brought in, mainly from Austria, thus the 107 elementary schools in Eastern Galicia, with a total of 7,000 pupils, are mainly drawn from *Reichsgau*, Lower Austria.

4. *Economic Penetration*

The rule of the Party and the germanisation of intellectual life are only small factors in the whole process of germanisation, the main weight of

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* Decree concerning Jewish school education in the " General Government," August 31st, 1940.

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which was economic. Deportation, the compulsory enlistment of young Poles into the *Baudienst* (Labour Service), and the regimentation of all other available labour for the German war effort, illustrate economic treatment of man-power. Essential consumer goods were produced and sold as State monopolies by the Central Government in Cracow (tobacco, sugar, salt, spirits, mineral oil, matches and even games of chance and playing-cards). The *Ostbahn* took over the entire railway network, and administered it as a dependency of the *Reichsbahn,* employing 145,000 non-Germans under the supervision of about 10,000 Germans. The *Deutsche Post Osten* ran the postal services, with some 26,000 non-Germans under the supervision of 4,000 Germans in leading positions. The *Werke des Generalgouvernements* absorbed the greater part of heavy industry, especially that owned by the Polish State. The *Deutsche Liegenschafts-Hauptverwaltung* was stated early in 1944 to administer 2,000 large and two million smaller industrial and trading organisations and estates. 7,000 German agricultural leaders (*Landwirtschaftsführer*) were installed on land expropriated by the Germans; it was claimed that 2,500,000 agricultural enterprises were originally under their supervision, and were later combined under the rationalisation system. These leaders supervised 1,300,000 agricultural labourers (one German to 140 " aliens " was the official figure issued in June, 1944).[*] The *Landwirtschaftliche Zentralstelle* controlled with its district and Kreis offices the entire wholesale and retail trade, as well as export and import trade in agricultural products. The *Handelsgesellschaft deutscher Kaufleute* had sole responsibility for the wholesale distribution of consumer goods other than agricultural. The final liquidation of all Jewish enterprises in the " Government General " was announced in February, 1944. " Rationalisation " led to the dissolution of 145,000 out of 195,000 retail establishments, and of 7,200 out of 8,000 wholesale businesses. German industrialists and traders spread out their tentacles, and removed their workshops and factories to the " Government General," as a safe haven from allied bombs. But the net economic benefit for Germany was admittedly small, and it was far from being a substitute for the lost riches of the Ukraine, as was hoped as late as May, 1944.

5. *Appeasement before Downfall*

The whole picture changed with the advance of the Russian armies early in 1944, the entry of Russian forces into Eastern Galicia in March, and, finally, the over-running of two-thirds of the area during the summer.

Propaganda accordingly changed its tone. The blessings which the administration had bestowed upon the population were painted in the most alluring colours. " German leadership alone " said Frank in February " assures to the millions of Polish peasants, workers, artisans, shopkeepers," officials and employees, who had been so unfairly treated by their intellectuals, security of wages, a guarantee of their social position, the safeguarding of their families and their industrial development." " Social liberation " was indeed the main theme, exploited in innumerable speeches. Frank suddenly announced the existence—though without giving names—of a Polish Central Committee with fifty-five regional boards and 122 delegates, which recognised the German authorities as the lawful representatives of the Polish People. His claim was followed up by the publicising of the Polish General Welfare Council, which was said to be the only true representation of the interests of the Polish people and to care for 1·5 million " who were led from the losses and want inflicted on them by the war to a secure future."[*] Frank even admitted mistakes in the German administration and apologised for " certain temporary restrictions in the field of secondary school education, since there was a danger that such schools might become the breeding ground of a dissatisfied proletarian intelligentsia." He protested that the German authorities had never attempted to interfere with the activities of the Roman Catholic Church of Poland.[†] This statement was followed by the first conciliatory gesture, after more than four years of persecution, namely " discussions of ecclesiastical and State problems " held by Kundt, the District Governor of Radom, with the Catholic bishops of Sandomierz, Kielce, and Czestochowa in February, 1944.

In Eastern Galicia even greater stress was laid on the promotion of Ukrainian cultural and administrative autonomy. " The Führer has made the cause of national culture and prosperity in the Ukraine his own and has declared that the Ukrainian population in the General Government must be happy in the enjoyment of its privileges " which consist of " peaceful work, cultural institutions, schools, free churches of every kind," said Frank to the delegation of the Ukrainian Central Committee, headed by its president, Dr. Kubyovich in January, 1944. The SS Division Galicia, which had been recruited since April, 1943 (it is alleged to consist of 60,000 volunteers), was praised and reported to be in action during the Russian summer offensive. As late as July 16th, 1944, the " admirable administrative work of the Ukrainian officials under German direction " was eulogised. The official German Information Bureau said that the Ukrainians have not forgotten the beneficial activities of the former Austro-Hungarian administration, and pointed out that the intelligent Ukrainians, now employed as village elders or in other leading administrative positions, were mostly officials or sergeant-majors under the Habsburg régime. The District Governor Wächter told the parents of volunteers in Lvov a fortnight before the town fell to the Russians (aided by a rising of the population inside the town) that their children were educated with the same love and care as were German children. Frank and his governors have vied with each other in their eagerness to woo the

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[*] 15,000 large-sized farms were said to be under German ownership.

[*] " *Das Reich* " of March 31st, 1944, also " *Signal* " No. 10 of July, 1944. The *Rada Glowna Opiekunsza* (General Welfare Council, the German name was *Polnischer Hauptausschuss Krakau*) was registered on September 26th, 1942, and was at first a welfare organisation for Polish prisoners and foreign workers in Germany. After the appalling famine that broke out in the Lublin district in the spring of 1943, the Council was allowed to widen its scope, but forbidden to care for Ukrainians or Jews. It was closely attached to the German Red Cross and responsible for its activities to the Government in Cracow. In December, 1943, it was provided with a new governing committee and a new President, Dr. Chorznicki. The original founders, Count Rinikier and Prof. Wolther were reported to have been arrested soon afterwards, *inter alia* for having refused to speak on the same platform with Frank.

[†] *Cf.*, In contrast the publication " The Persecution of the Catholic Church in German-occupied Poland," London, Burns Oates, 1941, containing reports presented by Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, to Pope Pius XII (preface by the late Cardinal Hinsley); and a comprehensive article in the Swiss periodical " *Ostschweiz* " of March 13th, 1943. It appears from these and other accounts that conditions in the " Government General " are somewhat better than in the territories annexed to " Greater Germany " inasmuch as " average persecution " is carried out in the former against " total persecution " in the latter.

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bishops of the Orthodox Church in the "General Government."

There is no doubt that this policy of *divide et impera* has had considerable success and has been one of the most effective weapons of indirect germanisation.

Meanwhile, the Germans from the Ukraine and Russia flocked back into the "General Government" during the winter of 1943 and the spring of 1944. Since the spring, they have moved back from the eastern part of the "General Government" into the safer areas. The administration used the only means at hand, and housed their *Volksgenossen* in the vacant ghettoes of the areas remaining in their hands. In April, Frank ordered more measures of appeasement. He raised the salaries of Polish and Ukrainian officials and employees; he increased the cigarette ration for Poles from 80 to 120 per month, and set up a board to negotiate on behalf of groups of Poles deported to the "General Government" with a view to compensating them for loss of property. The source from which compensation was to be derived was property confiscated by the authorities of the "General Government" from other Poles.

On July 26th when the Russians entered the district of Cracow, Frank, 150 miles away, sang his swan song. After denying that there was any unrest in the country, "apart from some insignificant acts of sabotage," and appealing to the Germans of the *Nebenland* to continue to set an example to the inhabitants by their work and demeanour, he paid tribute to the highly satisfactory behaviour of the population of the "General Government," who were "lending a helping hand in this area and are safeguarding production for the sake of Europe's victory," and promised: "Once victory has been achieved, Hitler will show them his special gratitude.

C.—THE REPATRIATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS

The repatriation of ethnic Germans as an avowed aim of Hitler's policy with a view to populating the annexed territories with "German blood" has frequently been mentioned in the foregoing sections. With the "completion" of this movement, announced in July, 1944, an attempt can be made to survey the official results of the process as a whole. It falls into two distinct parts (*a*) repatriation as a policy carried out between 1939 and 1942, and (*b*) repatriation enforced by the military situation, between January, 1943, and July, 1944. While the former process has been advertised as an enormous *völkisch* achievement, the latter was concealed and no details were given until it had been "completed." Both movements were entirely compulsory. However much the *volksdeutsche* leaders may have acted as fifth columnists in their respective countries, the mass of more than one million ethnic Germans who were "handled" by the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* were no less victims of the SS than the fifteen to twenty million non-German human beings involved in the continuous shifting of population during the war.

The final figure concerning the number of ethnic Germans brought back to the Reich between the end of 1939 and July, 1944, has been given as 904,000. This total by no means tallies with those issued at earlier dates. The first wave of repatriation, based on the treaties mentioned above (A, 2, 3), was reflected in a report issued by the *Deutsche Umsiedlungsgesellschaft* (the resettlement company working for the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*) on April 3rd, 1943. According to this report, repatriation up to the middle of 1942, has taken the form as shown in Table A.

These figures were supplemented by a notice issued on April 6th, 1943, that up to December, 1942, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* had dealt with 806,000 ethnic Germans or 55,000 more than the above report listed. Included in this additional figure are 26,000 people from Southern Croatia, who, according to the treaty with Croatia of October, 1942, were transferred in the autumn of that year.

With regard to the second wave of repatriation (that of the Russian ethnic Germans) detailed descriptions were issued in July, 1944. According to these, the original intention had been to leave them in the land "which they had cultivated with toil and industry" for 150 years, and to let them experience there their reabsorption into the German people. These intentions did not, how-

Table A

Region of Origin	Date when Resettlement began	Numbers Involved	No. of Property Owners among this Total
Latvia and Estonia	November, 1939 ...	63,832	39,080
	February, 1941 ...	16,244	
Volhynia, Galicia and "Narew Germans" ...	November, 1939 ...	134,267	45,000
Lublin and Cholm	September, 1940 ...	30,495	7,000
Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina	October, 1940 ...	136,989	55,000
Dobruja and Southern Bukovina	December, 1940 ...	76,756	19,000
Lithuania	January, 1941 ...	50,471	15,000
Kočevje Germans (Southern Slovenia)	November, 1941 ...	15,800	4,500
France	June, 1941	6,096	3,800
Bulgaria	December, 1941 ...	423	35
Serbia	December, 1941 ...	993	?
Alto Adige, Trento, Belluno (Southern Tyrol)...	November, 1939 ...	219,094	62,000
TOTAL	November, 1939 ...	751,460*	250,415

* The final number of repatriated persons coming under the above categories was given as 554,000 in July, 1944. See p. 67.

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ever, prevent the representatives of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* from moving them about inside the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* during the period of Nazi rule from 1941 to 1943. Himmler's aim then was to create areas of purely German settlement dispersed throughout the whole Ukrainian region. The " decision of the German leadership to shorten the front " put an end to these activities. The reports admit that the new treks could not be planned as carefully as before, but had to be carried out " in the shortest time, under the most difficult political, geographical and meteorological conditions and in the midst of a gigantic military retreat." Those who were given the responsibility of removing " the 350,000 Germans who constituted racially as well as culturally a valuable élite and of giving them a new home on the soil of the native fields of the Warthegau,"* were SS-*Obergruppenführer* Werner Lorenz, as Chief of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, SS-*Brigadeführer* Hoffmeyer and the two SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Paschwöll and Weingärtner. These four men directed the *Sonderkommando R* (Russia) and carried out the process in seven " actions " (see Table B below). " Action " No. 1, strangely enough, took place as early as January to March, 1942, and embraced 3,800 urban Germans from the Leningrad province. Nos 2 and 3 started during the battles for Rzhev and Stalingrad and involved Germans from Central Russia and the Caucasus. While the people from Central Russia were partly settled in the " General Government," those from the Caucasus areas were sent as forced labour into the Reich.† Nos. 4 to 6 concerned 190,000 ethnic Germans from the Ukraine and the Black Sea area, who were hurried back during the continuous Russian offensives which began in the summer 1943. The majority of them were settled (*eingesetzt*) in Greiser's territory, the " Warthegau." When the Russian spring offensive of 1944 approached the Bug, beyond which an ethnic German population of 135,000 lived in " Transnistria," which had been annexed by the Rumanians, Hoffmeister decided to evacuate them. He himself reported that he had to leave these people in complete ignorance of their impending fate, because their agricultural work secured the provisioning of two German army groups. On March 12th, 1944, they were informed of the proposed evacuation, two days later the first party had to leave. Each village, divided into groups of ten wagons, formed a " Trek," twenty " Treks " a travelling column, called a *Bereichskommando*. Thousands of people, among them women and children, had to walk. Three large columns crossed the Dniester at different points and assembled near Falciu east of the River Pruth. From here, 22,000 women, children and sick people were sent by train, " some of them in open goods wagons " to Lodz, a journey which occupied 24 days. The rest were divided into two treks, the one, with 72,000 people, under Paschwöll, travelling north-west over the Carpathians for 300 miles into Hungary ; they took with them 39,000 horses, 10,000 carts and 13,000 head of cattle. The second " trek " travelled south through the Dobruja and Bulgaria into Serbia, and consisted of 40,000 people, with 8,000 carts, 19,000 horses and 5,000 head of cattle. On May 29th, the last train left Hungary ; on July 2nd, the last left Serbia. The table below gives a survey of these movements. With regard to nationality, the newcomers were placed into Group II of the " People's List " and received German nationality in most cases.

The latest figures issued with regard to the net result of all repatriation cover 350,000 " Russian " Germans and 554,000 Germans from other districts. With regard to the latter, a figure of 806,000 was issued in December, 1942, so that a full quarter of a million people are not accounted for. The official reports issued in July, 1944, make, however, no mention of repatriated Southern Tyrolese or Lithuanian Germans.* With regard to the Lithuanian Germans, 31,000 were

Table B

Trek No.	Area of Departure	Period of Trek	Reception Area	Nos. Involved
1	Leningrad and Ingermanland (mostly urban population)	January to March, 1942	Probably Reich	3,800
2	Northern Caucasus, Kalmuk Steppe, Donbas	End of 1942 to February, 1943	Partly " Warthegau," partly " General Government "	11,500
3	*Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien*) (Minsk area and eastward)	Beginning to July, 1943	Reich for forced labour ...	10,500
4	Cherson, Nikolajev, Nikopol, Kiev, Charkow, Zaporoze, Krivi-Rog, Melitopol, Mariopol, Crimea (" *Russlandaktion* ")	October, 1943, to mid-March, 1944	" Warthegau "	72,000
5	Remainder of rural population from the Dnjepr area round the Black Sea (" *Schwarzmeeraktion* ")	August, 1943, to May, 1944	" Warthegau "	73,000
6	Rural population from the area of Zhitomir	October, 1943, to May, 1944	" Warthegau "	44,600
7	Transnistria ... ... (*a*) Northern Trek ... ... (*b*) Southern Trek ... ... (*c*) By rail	March to July, 1944 ... April 23rd to May 4th... April 23rd to June 27th March 14th to April 9th	" Warthegau "	135,000 (72,000) (40,000) (22,000)

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* " *Und den* 350,000 *deutschen Volksgenossen, die rassisch als auch kulturell eine Auslese, darstellen, auf dem Boden der heimatlichen Äcker des Warthegaues eine neue Heimat zu schaffen,*"

† " *Zur Arbeit ins Reich vermittelt.*"

* For the South Tyrolese question, see Chapter IV.

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ordered back from the Ciechanow district to Lithuania early in 1943.

Not included in all these figures are those people of German stock who were deported from Luxembourg, Lorraine and Alsace or moved from Austria and Czechoslovakia into the Reich, nor are, of course, the many thousands who were evacuated into the " safe " areas of the " Protectorate," the " General Government," the Baltic *Generalbezirke* or the Eastern Annexed Territories. Not included, also, are the many thousands of officials of all descriptions who were transferred into regions dominated by the Nazis. There is no doubt that during the summer of 1944, tens of thousands of Germans belonging to all these categories flocked back into the Reich. Among them the one million " ethnic Germans " will constitute a special problem after an armistice agreement has been signed.

The attitude of the repatriated ethnic Germans has, on the whole, been one of doubt. There is considerable evidence that the majority of them would never voluntarily have left their homes. This applies to those German minorities which had settled in South-Eastern Europe as well as to those which had been living under Soviet rule since 1917. In their new homes, a feeling of extreme uneasiness and fear seems to have prevailed among many of them from the outset. They experienced great difficulties in adapting themselves to the new soil conditions and to different farming methods. They did not feel at home. They were haunted by the fear that Germany might lose the war. Even uneasiness concerning the fact that they were benefiting from other people's misery was not infrequent. Sentiments such as " We didn't like it. We felt uneasy and frightened, thinking of how the Poles had been driven from their farms so that we could move in " were reported from reliable sources as early as 1941.

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CHAPTER IV

THE NAZI FOREIGN ORGANISATION AND THE GERMAN MINORITIES (“ETHNIC GROUPS”)

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A.—ORGANISATIONS DEALING WITH FOREIGN GERMANHOOD

The Germans claimed that about 30 million persons of German “race” lived outside the borders of Germany proper on January 1st, 1938, *i.e.*, before the first territorial inroads on Europe were made. To organise this great mass of *Auslandsdeutsche* (Germans abroad) and bring them under the control of the Reich and the Nazi Party, two organisations were carefully built up and absorbed into the service of German foreign policy—the *Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP*, abbreviated *AO* (Foreign Organisation of the NSDAP), and the *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, abbreviated *VDA* (People's League for Germanhood Abroad).

The original task of the AO was to obtain control of Reich German citizens who were resident abroad (*Reichsauslandsdeutsche*); the original task of the VDA was to influence the communities of German origin who were citizens of foreign countries.

I. Terminology

To determine the different groups and classes of people who were considered Germans, an elaborate terminology was evolved. The *Auslandsdeutsche* of foreign nationality (as distinct from the *Reichsauslandsdeutsche*) were sub-divided into *Grenzdeutsche* (border Germans), who lived in regions immediately adjacent to Germany proper on *Deutscher Volksboden* (German people's soil), and *Deutsche Volksgruppen* (German ethnic groups), who formed German communities in closed settlements farther afield. The term *Grenzaussendeutsche** “implies that their national character (*Volkstum*) is threatened and suffers the fate of the borderland.”* Up to the outbreak of war they were further sub-divided into those who were separated from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and those who were prevented “against their will” from uniting with Germany. Belonging to the former group were Germans of foreign nationality resident in the regions of Alsace and Lorraine, Eupen-Malmédy, Polish Silesia, the “Corridor,” the Free State of Danzig, the Memel territory, and South Jutland. Assigned to the latter group were all Austrians, the “Sudeten German” minority in Czechoslovakia and the ex-Austrian minority in Southern Tyrol. The populations of the whole of Luxembourg, Eastern Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Holland and northern Belgium (Flemings) were also included as belonging to the German *Volksboden*. In this respect the “teutonic language border” was the dividing line.†

The term *Volksgruppen* was coined in 1928 when the “League of German minorities in Europe” changed its name to the “League of the German Ethnic Groups.” It was applied mainly to those closed settlements of Germans in south-eastern and eastern Europe (termed German cultural soil—*Kulturboden*) and overseas, who have, in fact, retained their language and customs over a considerable period. They are scattered all over south-eastern Europe (*e.g.*, “Slovakia,” Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania) and eastern Europe (*e.g.*, Central Poland, Galicia, the Crimea, Ukraine,

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* Also sometimes termed *Grenzlanddeutsche* or *Grenzdeutsche*.

* Brockhaus, vol. 7, pages 611, 1930.

† See Map of German dialects in Part I, facing page 23.

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Black Sea area and middle Volga), and also in South America, notably in Brazil. Another group to which special consideration was given were the *Kolonialdeutsche* (colonial Germans), who lived in former German colonies and adjacent territories such as the Congo, Kenya, and the Union of South Africa.

In addition to the well-established *Volksgruppen* there are the descendants of immigrants to foreign countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who have assimilated themselves by becoming nationals of their new homeland, and are also considered "Germans abroad" and termed *Deutschtum in der Zerstreuung* (Germanhood in Dispersions). This applies in particular to descendants of German immigrants in North America and parts of the British Empire.

Figures issued officially and semi-officially with regard to all these different groups of *Auslandsdeutsche* are of purely propaganda value and have been greatly exaggerated during the Nazi régime. It is a well-established fact that figures for Europe are based on the 1910 census records of Imperial Germany, Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and were utilised for statistics well into the 1930's. Two instances will show this use of figures :—

(*a*) *Poland*

1. "Brockhaus," 1929. "The Polish official census of 1921 gives 1,059,000 Germans in Poland. In reality their number is much higher."

2. Polish census of 1931. Population of German mother tongue: 741,000 ("Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland," Warsaw, 1937, p. 20).

3. "Brockhaus," 1935. "According to a Polish estimate of 1927, 884,000 Germans; according to a German estimate of 1926, 1,128,000."

4. Official booklet of VDA (May, 1933). "The Germans in Poland are estimated at 1,350,000.

5. "Taschenbrockhaus," 1942, p. 291. "On the basis of the last Polish census of 1931, there were 1,140,000 Germans in Poland." (*Cf.* 2 above.)

(*b*) *United States*

1.—(*a*) "Brockhaus," 1929, vol. 4, p. 719. "One assumes that there are 8 to 10 million German-speaking Americans."

(*b*) Same, p. 546. "As American statistics do not take into consideration the children of German immigrants in the second or third generation, the real number of those of German origin (*Deutschstämmige*) is considerably larger and comprises 15 to 20 million for certain."

2. Official booklet of VDA (May, 1933). "The Germans in the United States are estimated at 10 million."

3. "Brockhaus," 1935. "Of the 8 million *Deutschstämmige*, 3 million at the outside can be considered as *Volksbewusste Deutsche* (Germans conscious of their national character)."

4. "Taschenbrockhaus," 1942. "25 million of German origin (*Deutscher Abstammung*)."

II. The Foreign Organisation of the Nazi Party (AO)

1. *History*

After the last war German citizens living abroad were organised in the *Bund der Auslandsdeutschen* (League of Germans Abroad), which was founded on August 18th, 1919. The League was originally an organisation representing the economic interests of Germans who had returned to Germany during and after the war, and who demanded compensation from the German government for their losses in the countries they had left. Soon, however, it included all Germans who had either remained abroad or re-emigrated. The League's aim was the "energetic representation of the wishes of Germans abroad *vis-à-vis* the Reich government and the Reichstag." It was openly called a political organisation of Germans abroad, and for this purpose maintained close relations with all German commercial enterprises which had dealings abroad. The League had thirty-five *Landesverbände* (regional branches) inside Germany and abroad, and since 1920 has published a fortnightly magazine, "*Die Auslandswarte.*" The League was recognised by the German government as the only official organisation dealing with all matters concerning German citizens resident abroad. The League was affiliated to the VDA in 1933.

Immediately after its great election victory in September, 1930, the Nazi Party began to build up its own organisation to control every Party member residing permanently or temporarily in a foreign country. Thus on May 1st, 1931, a *Dienststelle* (branch office), founded in Hamburg, was raised by the Party *Reichsleitung* to the status of an *Auslandsabteilung der Reichsleitung der NSDAP.* The first *Landesgruppe* covering a whole country was founded in Paraguay in 1931. Propaganda was particularly intensive on board German merchant vessels where cells, *Schiffsstützpunkte,* and even fully-organised local branches were founded before the Party's accession to power. The maritime SA played a great rôle in this development, and *Bordstürme* were formed on board all ships. Members wore uniform off duty and took part in propaganda marches and brawls with political opponents. On March 1st, 1932, all maritime branches were combined in a special department (*Abteilung Seefahrt*), which ensured that "one ship after the other was conquered for National Socialism . . . and became the bearer of the faith of our movement for our brothers and sisters abroad." At the end of 1932, *Abteilung Seefahrt* became a special Party Gau, with local branches in the ports of Bremen, Bremerhaven-Wesermünde, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stettin, Danzig and Königsberg.

The instalment of Ernst Wilhelm BOHLE* as head of the Foreign Department of the Party on May 8th, 1933, indicated a new departure in the policy of controlling Germans abroad. On October 8th the department was placed under the direct supervision of Deputy-Führer Hess, himself an *Auslandsdeutscher,* Bohle being appointed to his staff with the rank of *Gauleiter.* Hess decreed the present title of *Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP* on February 17th, 1934, and the competence of the organisation was definitely fixed. In mid-March, 1935, the entire staff, then numbering 170 persons, was moved to Berlin, where in 1938 it was allotted a magnificent new six-storey building in the Fehrbelliner Platz, Wilmersdorf, Westfälische Strasse 1. The staff had by then increased to more than 700 employees.

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* Bohle was born in Bradford (Yorkshire) in 1903 and was brought up in Capetown where his father was a university professor. After being interned in South Africa during the 1914/18 war, his family went to Germany in 1918 and young Bohle was later employed in the export trade. In 1931, he became a member of the Party and helped to establish the Foreign Organisation. Bohle was nominated a member of the Reichstag in 1933 and is an *SS-Gruppenführer*

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A further milestone in the development of the organisation was the close connection achieved between the AO and the Foreign Office. On January 30th, 1937, the fourth anniversary of Hitler's rise to power, Bohle became an official of the Foreign Office, assuming the title of *Leiter der Auslandsabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes* (Head of the Foreign Division of the Foreign Office. The decisive factor was that whereas formerly the jurisdiction of the AO had in theory merely extended to Party organisations abroad, Bohle's functions were now extended to include all German citizens abroad or, as the special decree concerning his new office stated, "the direction and handling of all matters concerning German citizens abroad are transferred to him." Although nominally subordinate to the Foreign Minister, Bohle had the right to address instructions, through the German diplomatic service, to the Party's agents abroad. A further strengthening of the Party's grip on the Foreign Office was that all members of the Foreign Service throughout the world were organised into an *Ortsgruppe* (Party local branch) under Bohle's authority. Finally, Bohle was appointed Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, with the proviso that decisions taken by him and issued in the form of orders bearing his signature would have the force of "ministerial decisions" or instructions of the Foreign Office.

2. *Structure*

The order of February 17th, 1934, giving the Foreign Organisation its present name, fixed its competence as follows:—

> "Party comrades abroad are controlled by the AO and must not be registered with home German Party *Gaue*; the AO is the sole competent Party authority for all Party formations abroad; official correspondence of all Party offices with organisations of the NSDAP abroad must travel via the AO; occupational Nazi organisations (*Fachverbände*), which intend to include Germans abroad in their activities, may only do so within the framework of the AO."

This range of activities was further extended on March 16th, 1934, by placing the *Abteilung Seefahrt* (*i.e.*, all personnel of the German merchant navy, including ships' pilots) under the AO. This measure affected about 80,000 people.

The AO having dual functions, (i) as a sort of Party Foreign Office on the one hand and (ii) as a Party Gau on the other, has a dual status, and therefore a twofold organisational structure.

(i) *The AO as a Party Foreign Office*

The functions of the AO as a Party Foreign Office have been defined in an official booklet by Dr. Emil Ehrich, as follows:—

> "The diversity of conditions abroad requires that the Central Office of the AO have offices which, on the one hand, are continuously and precisely informed concerning all events abroad which are in any way connected with and exert influence upon the existence of foreign Germanhood (*Auslandsdeutschtum*), and which, on the other hand, must be in a position politically to determine and carry out the work of the Party divisions and organisations associated in the AO and the activities of the departments which are charged with functions not limited to specific geographic regions."*

For this task the world was divided into eight geographic divisions or *Länderämter*:—

(i) North-eastern Europe.

(ii) Western Europe (except the United Kingdom and Ireland).

(iii) South-eastern Europe, Austria and the Near East.

(iv) Italy, Switzerland and Hungary.

(v) Africa.

(vi) North America.

(vii) Latin America.

(viii) Far East, Australia, United Kingdom and Ireland.†

"These *Länderämter*," Ehrlich states, "constitute the actual political foundations of the AO and are responsible to the *Gauleiter* for the entire development of the various Party groups within their sphere of jurisdiction."

The head of each *Länderamt* is acquainted by personal experience with the characteristics of the regions under his jurisdiction and the prevailing conditions. All correspondence relating to the activities of the AO in these regions passes through his office, and it is thus possible for him to gain an overall view of, and to exert co-ordinating influence upon, the policies and activities of the AO in that part of the world. It is also possible in this way to keep a close watch on individual Party members and officials abroad.

Besides the *Länderämter*, a number of other departments and divisions have been set up, which exercise extensive influence over special sections of the German population abroad. Department IX, *Gauinspektion Seefahrt*, part of the AO since 1934, controls all seafaring Party members and the development of conditions in German maritime shipping in all spheres of social and general policy. It has subordinate divisional offices in Bremen (for the district of Weser-Ems), in Hamburg (for the Elbe district), in Kiel (for the Western Baltic), and in Stettin (for the Eastern Baltic). These do the work of Party *Kreise* and are further sub-divided into *Ortsgruppen* (local branches) for seamen and ships' personnel. There are also local branches in every ship, supervised by the general administration and the "staff" of this division.

Departments X to XVIII saw that Germans in foreign countries could be reached through the occupational organisations existing in the Reich, and can thus be supervised in all aspects of their employment. The Foreign Department of the Labour Front (DAF–AO) exercised minute control in this respect and had a sub-division *Seefahrt*, in addition to the sections for organisation, administration, legal advice, enlightenment and ideological training in the Central Office, and local branches in foreign countries everywhere. The Strength through Joy trips in its magnificent KDF ships were made an occasion for further influencing Germans abroad. In addition, the Civil Service Organisation Abroad (RdB–AO), the Association of the Legal Profession and the Nazi Teachers' League Abroad (NSLB–AO) had a strong hold on

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* "*Die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP.*" by Dr. Emil Ehrich, *Gauamtsleiter*. Personal Adviser to the *Gauleiter* of the AO. Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, Berlin, 1937, page 17. Ehrich has lately been created leader of the AO in Italy.

† The *Länderämter* have lately been reduced to six; in addition there is a special *Kolonialreferat*.

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their professional "racial" compatriots in foreign countries. The NSLB-AO not only controlled Reich German teachers serving in German schools abroad, in seamen's and marine engineers' schools, but even those on holiday in foreign countries. The Reich Students' Union and the NS-Lecturers' League both had their foreign *Gaue*.

The *Gau-Studentenführer Ausland* was in charge of all students of German nationality studying abroad and of student exchanges in collaboration with the Academic Exchange Bureau. The *Gau-Dozentenführer Ausland* was responsible for the conversion of all Reich German lecturers in foreign academic institutes to the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, and also for the exchange of lecturers. No university lecturer could go abroad and lecture to foreign audiences without a licence issued by the *Dozentenführer* and without registering with his agents abroad. The Youth Department of the AO coincided with the *Gebiet Ausland* (Foreign Region) of the Hitler Youth in the Reich Youth Directorate.* The German Women's League had its special foreign department in the AO, known since 1939 as the *Auslandsdeutsche Frauenschaft*, with nine sections in the Central Office (*inter alia*, for statistics; press, film, broadcasting, exhibitions; culture, education and ideological training; mother service; domestic economy; foreign relations). In the regions themselves, they had "*Landes-*," "*Kreis-*," and "*Ortsfrauenschaften*," and special organisations for young women between eighteen and thirty and for children between six and ten years.

Departments XIX to XXXII performed duties of a general nature. There was the *Aussenhandelsamt*, which dealt with all questions of foreign trade and supervised the twenty-five German chambers of commerce abroad, which existed before 1939; and the *Inspektionsamt*, part of whose duty was to collect organisational statistics on foreign Germanhood and to maintain a most elaborate card index system. The *Kulturamt* observed and supervised German cultural institutions abroad and handled cultural exchanges of a general nature with foreign countries. The Press and Propaganda Department collected data about the German and foreign press and information regarding both internal German affairs and *Auslandsdeutschtum*. Among its publications were the "*NS-Dienst für auslandsdeutsche Blätter*" and a periodical, "*Deutsches Wollen*," first published on January 1st, 1939. The *Amt Rednereinsatz* (Speakers' Department) used Party orators or men of letters for lectures abroad, arranged celebrations of national holidays and other festivals among German communities abroad, and supervised film programmes and broadcasts. Thus fifty-six Party orators from Germany were sent to 177 different May Day demonstrations in all parts of Europe on May 1st, 1936. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, some 25,000 Germans assembled on this occasion.

The *Rückwandereramt* (Re-emigration Office) took charge of all Germans returning from abroad (40,000 returned during 1938), and re-absorbed them into domestic life and economy. It maintained branches in Breslau, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Munich, Schneidemühl and Stuttgart, and after 1939 collaborated closely with the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* of the *Reichsführer* SS, which organised the repatriation of ethnic Germans. The *Schulungsamt* (Ideological Training Department) has its own *Gauschulungsburg* (Gau Schooling Centre) in Stuttgart and a special *Reichsschule für Auslandsdeutsche und Seefahrer* (Reich School for Germans Abroad and Seamen) at Donnerschloss, Altona. The Department for People's Welfare (*Volkswohlfahrt*) supervised the foreign branches of the NSV-AO. It collected over four million *Reichsmark* from ships' personnel and German residents abroad for the Winter Help in 1938/39.

(ii) *The AO as a Party Gau*

All Party members resident abroad are organised in Party *Gau* No. 43 *Auslandsorganisation*. Bohle, therefore, had the rank of *Gauleiter*, and directly under him were the heads of sections in foreign countries with the title either of *Landesgruppenleiter* (in very large communities) or *Landeskreisleiter* (in countries where comparatively few Reich Germans were settled). The regions were sub-divided into *Ortsgruppen* (local branches) and/or *Stützpunkte* (bases). Afloat, the *Abschnittsleiter* (section leader) was directly responsible to the *Gauleiter*. The *Gauleiter* in Berlin had a *Stabsamt* (staff office), a *Persönlicher Referent* (personal adviser), an adjutant's office, and in addition a Deputy *Gauleiter*. As Bohle had his headquarters at the Foreign Office, his deputy and *Stabsamtsleiter*, Fritz Bernhard RÜBERG, SS-*Brigadeführer*, controlled practically the entire vast organisation of the AO.

The number of German Reich citizens abroad was difficult to estimate, but before the war it probably amounted to between one and three millions. Not all of them were members of the AO or were permitted to be. It was estimated, for instance, that there were 13,000 Reich German citizens in Poland in the summer of 1938, of whom only 1,800 were admitted to the *Landesgruppe* as full members, after careful selection, while the DAF and NSF had an additional 1,200 members.* However, official membership figures for any other *Landesgruppe* have never been published, except for the 70,000 to 80,000 sea-going personnel who were organised in 1,097 maritime groups. Before the annexation of Austria there were forty-five country groups (*Landesgruppen* or *Landeskreise*) and 548 local branches (*Ortsgruppen* or *Stützpunkte*) abroad.

The regional organisations shown in the Table on page 73 still existed on January 1st, 1944.

In annexed territories, viz., Austria, Luxembourg, and Poland, the regional groups of the AO have been dissolved and incorporated into internal German Party *Gaue*. In the "General Government" and the two eastern Reich Commissariats, special *Arbeitsbereiche der NSDAP* were formed which were not under the jurisdiction of the AO, but under the direct control of the Party Treasurer. The AO Holland was also transformed into an *Arbeitsbereich* on October 15th, 1940. Unlike the other three regions, however, its leader is not the Reich Commissioner, but a special envoy of the Party directorate, Willi RITTERBUSCH (appointed June, 1942), whose headquarters are in Utrecht. He supervises all phases of ideological and political activity in the country, and close collaboration exists between all Party formations and Mussert's NSB.

3. Policy

(i) *Ostensible Policy*

Officially, the leaders of the AO stressed that membership of their regional groups was completely voluntary. They stated that the application of force was impossible and that only persuasion and enlightenment could induce

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* See Part II, Chapter XIV, pages 444f. 449f.

* "*Jahrbuch der AO*," 1940, page 278.

Foreign Groups of the AO (January 1st, 1944).

Country	Head of AO	Rank
1. Belgium	Julius Reinhard KOCH (from January 14th) ...	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
2. Bulgaria	Prof. Josef DRECHSLER	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
3. Nanking China ...	Siegfried LAHRMANN	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
4. Denmark	Ernst SCHÄFER	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
5. Finland	Wilhelm JAHRE	*Kreisleiter.*
6. France*	— HUBL...	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
7. Greece	Dr. BOERLINGER	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
8. Italy	Dr. Emil EHRICH	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
9. Japan	Rudolf HELLMANN	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
10. Croatia	Rudolf EMPTING	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
11. Manchukuo	Hanns Günther von KIRSCHBAUM	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
12. Norway	Hans Hendrik NEUMANN†	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
13. Portugal	Dr. Horst LÜBBE	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
14. Rumania	Ludwig KOHLHAMMER	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
15. Sweden	Friedrich Wilhelm STENGEL‡	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
16. Switzerland	Baron Siegfried von BIBRA	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
17. Serbia	Helmut KRÜGER (Since Sept., 1944)	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
18. Slovakia	Kurt RUDERSHAUSEN	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
19. Spain	Hans THOMSEN	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
20. Hungary	Henry ESP	*Landesgruppenleiter.*
21. Turkey	(?)	*Landesgruppenleiter.*

* The AO had fifty-two local branches (*Ortsgruppen and Landzellen*) in France in 1944.

† SS-*Obersturmbannführer* and Deputy Reich Commissioner in Norway.

‡ Was reported to have been transferred to Switzerland in October, 1943; his successor was said to be Köhler, in charge of recruiting for Armed SS in Sweden. In August, 1944, GROSSMANN was leader of the AO.

Germans abroad to unite in "indestructible racial communities," which demonstrated that no Jew, "non-Aryan" (in the Nazi sense), or person of "foreign blood," in spite of German nationality, could become members of the regional groups of the AO. They maintained that their basic principle was one of absolute non-interference in the "guest-country's" internal politics, and the first two of the ten commandments for Germans abroad ran thus:—

> 1. Observe the laws of the country whose guest you are.
>
> 2. Leave the politics of the country where you reside to its native inhabitants. You are not concerned with the internal politics of a foreign country. Take no part in them, even in conversation.

Thus the complete harmlessness of the AO was repeatedly emphasised, and Bohle had the temerity in numerous speeches to ridicule revelations of what was actually happening. "It is amusing to read," he said at the AO rally in 1937, "that Germany is training all housemaids abroad as spies and that the chief task of National Socialists themselves is to transform foreign countries into Hitler colonies." Rudolf Hess said:

> "Is it really believed that we are so stupid, that if we wanted to set up an organisation for espionage, we would then use our visible branches, local groups and country groups abroad for this purpose?"

And he solemnly assured his audience:

> "We can declare with a clear conscience that we do not want National Socialism to seep into other people like poison! We likewise do not wish to force it on other peoples. We do not even want to give it away to other peoples. On the contrary, we are jealously concerned to keep it for ourselves."

And he protested (strongly emphasising the "we"):

> "For it is not we who use our commercial offices as agencies for the disintegration of the nations who are our hosts. We do not smuggle inflammatory articles in foreign languages into other countries. We are not organising the underworld of other states as the storm troops of civil war."

In London, Bohle stated, in a long address delivered to the German colony on October 1st, 1937:

> "The National Socialists do not disseminate hatred and discord, but are anxious to deliver the messages of good-will emanating from a country whose Leader loves peace because he loves his people and wants to make them happy."

(ii) *Actual Policy Pursued*

The first two points of the commands for all Germans abroad, quoted above, were commendable indeed; others, however, had a more ominous ring. "Acknowledge yourself as a Party member at all times and in all places"—No. 3. "Be not merely a member, but also a fighter in the front line"—No. 7. "Inform yourself thoroughly of the methods, contents and aim of our movement." Pressure was to be exercised on other members of the German colony. The eighth command ran:

> "Work and fight day after day for the entry of every honourable German into our movement. Convince him of the superiority and justness of our movement, of the necessity of our victory in order that Germany may continue to live!"

The concluding sentence, "Fight with weapons of the mind" (*geistige Waffen*), appears rather as an afterthought. Ehrich, when commenting on these commands, declared that "National Socialism recognises as the supreme law, solely the right of the people's community, of which foreign Germanhood is only a part," and, "No power in the world can withdraw from a German abroad the obligation which he bears to his people and his Reich."

In practice, the weapons used were not those of the mind. "The German in Holland," said a confidential report before the war, "who was not

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amenable to the orders of Butting (the AO leader) and his friends had no chance whatsoever of staying in business." He was first of all threatened with the loss of his passport, which would have meant either returning to Germany as a suspect or declaring himself a refugee and thus being cut off from his country and family. If he had a position with a German firm, he would be dismissed at the request of the AO. If he had a job with a Dutch firm, difficulties could be placed in his employer's way until he was removed. If he worked as an agent for a German firm, " a peremptory note from Bohle to the firm in question would result in immediate dismissal." If he ran his own business, it would almost certainly be dependent on German markets or supplies, and he could be easily ruined. " His source of supply was blocked, his credit was withdrawn by the banks, the market was closed to him. In one way or another, the German in Holland was faced with the grim choice : Come in with us or blow your brains out."

This system of economic blackmail of unwilling *Auslandsdeutsche*, which was applied in every part of the world, is confirmed in one single official paragraph, which states :

> " The basic change in the legal position of foreign Germans has found expression in a series of laws which give it a new definition ; for example, the law regarding the annulment of naturalisation and the revocation of German citizenship of July 14th, 1933. . . . The loyalty which German citizens residing abroad owe to the Reich finds its expression here in the exclusion of faithless Germans."*

The aim of this coercion was to form cadres in every country, which could be used at the appropriate moment as " fifth columns," ready to act in the interests of Nazi German policy. To obtain a wealth of information, to influence their " guest country " in favour of the Nazi régime, to establish contact with kindred movements inside the country, to sow discord and to apply pressure on the governments concerned—all this was possible if regimentation were made complete. The first reaction among German communities abroad was violent disputes, schisms, denunciations, even terrorism. Naturally, all Germans of the Jewish faith or of Jewish extraction, or of political convictions unfavourable to the Nazi doctrine, were excluded. But these schisms did not unduly trouble the leadership of the AO. They wanted the loyal remainder, however small, to be formed into a unified body ready to follow and obey without question. These men were enticed with promises, many of which were kept. They were hypnotised by continuous propaganda and the apparent successes of the régime. How this " preparedness for any eventuality " worked out is illustrated in the diary of the AO Leader for Greece, Dr. Wrede, published by Bohle in " *Deutsches Wollen*," July, 1941. The entry for April 27th is headed " The Swastika on the Acropolis," and contains the following remarks :—

> " In a few minutes we all gather in a greeting to the Führer. . . . We want to help the German troops immediately, as we are familiar with the local language and customs. . . . In the meantime, I organise the activity of all Party members for auxiliary service with the Army. Soon we shall see our boys and girls in their Hitler uniforms, proud and radiant beside the field-grey, riding on motor cycles and in cars."

Officially, the AO and its vast organisation was only concerned with those German citizens living abroad who were Party members. As Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, Bohle was declared " responsible for all questions that concern any German national abroad." Yet in an address delivered to the Hungarian Society for Foreign Policy in January, 1939, he defined foreign Germanhood as comprising " not only German nationals abroad, but also persons of German origin," *i.e.*, of foreign nationality.

This ambiguity in terminology conveniently blurred the distinction between German " racial comrades " of German nationality and those of foreign nationality. Just as the Nazi ideology included all German *Volksgenossen*, regardless of their citizenship, so did the AO seek to include all those of German extraction who could be contacted. While Nazi policy contemplated the furtherance of German interests by the establishment of compact German racial minorities wherever " Germans " settled abroad, the AO represented the Party agency for all German aims beyond the borders of the Reich.

Officially, however, other organisations were used for Party work among the German minorities, chiefly the *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, although Ehrich said of the *Kulturamt* of the AO :—

> " In the last analysis, it is the central agency for all the numerous organisations and bureaux which aim at a spiritual and cultural exchange with Germanhood abroad."*

III. The League for Foreign Germanhood (VDA)

1. *History*

The present VDA is a conglomeration of organisations for the cultivation of Germanhood abroad. The foundation of the present extensive association was laid in Vienna where, in 1880, the *Deutsche Schulverein für Osterreich* was founded, with the aim of supporting the educational system of the many German colonies within the non-German areas of the Habsburg monarchy. Its Reich German pendant, *Deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Ausland*, founded in Berlin one year later, extended its activities to German minorities over the whole globe, but specialised in the care of frontier Germans. In 1908 its name was changed to *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*—VDA—(Society for Germanhood Abroad), thus indicating that its activities extended beyond the field of education. It collaborated with various societies promoting colonial expansion (*Kolonialvereine*), and with the extreme nationalist and expansionist *Alldeutscher Verein* (Pan German League). In 1913 its membership was 50,000, and by the outbreak of the First World War it was proclaimed the " central agency of the many societies for Germanhood abroad and bearer of the German idea of the future."†

The separation of large numbers of " border Germans " from the Reich after 1918 resulted in a great increase in the activities of the VDA, which now embraced " the entire sphere of life of the German race."‡ The parallel Austrian organisation was affiliated in 1921. Of more importance, however, was the absorption, in 1925, of the

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* Otto Gaulweiler, " *Rechtseinrichtungen und Rechtsaufgaben der Bewegung*," Munich, Eher, 1939, page 73.

* *Op cit.*, page 20.

† Otto Schäfer, " *Sinn und Wesen des VDA*," Frankfurt/M., 1933, 2nd edition, page 27.

‡ *Ibid*, page 28.

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Schutzverein Südmark, founded in 1889 for the protection of German property and the preservation of Germanhood in the Slovene and South Tyrolese districts of the Habsburg monarchy. Before the merger, *Südmark* had absorbed all other Austrian societies for the preservation of Germanhood, among them the *Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn*.

After Hitler's accession to power, the VDA, which had hitherto professed political and denominational neutrality,[*] not only recognised the principles of Nazi ideology, but accepted the position of sole representative of all organisations promoting the cultivation of Germanism abroad. On the occasion of the annual rally at Passau, Whitsuntide, 1933, the idea of the Third Reich was accepted, the structure of the organisation re-modelled on the "leadership principle," the name changed to *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (People's League for Germanhood Abroad), and a member of the Nazi Party, Hans Steinacher, of Carinthia, made leader (*Bundesleiter*). At the same time, a great number of other organisations were absorbed by the VDA, the most important being :—

(1) *Der Bund der Auslandsdeutschen* (see above, II, 1).

(2) *Der Deutsche Schutzbund* (The German Protection League). This was founded on May 29th, 1919, as a cover organisation to achieve co-ordination between all associations cultivating border and foreign Germanhood (*Grenzland- und Auslandsdeutschtum*). In contrast to the VDA, which supervised cultural activities, it was an avowedly political organisation, though it claimed to work on a non-party basis.

(3) *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (German Colonial Association). This was founded in 1887 and professed to be denominationally and politically neutral. It had 189 sections (*Abteilungen*) in Germany and Austria.

(4) *Vereinigung für Siedlung und Wanderung* (Association for Settlement and Migration).

(5) *Reichsverband für die katholischen Auslandsdeutschen* (Reich League for Roman Catholic Germans Abroad).

(6) *Reichsverband deutscher evangelischer Auslandsarbeit* (Reich League of German Evangelical Activities Abroad). This was founded in 1918. Its present name was adopted in 1928. It consists of all Evangelical German societies working among Germans abroad, especially the *Gustav Adolf Verein*, Leipzig, and the *Evangelischer Hauptverein für deutsche Ansiedler und Auswanderer*.

(7) *Vereinsverband deutscher Auslandslehrer* (League of Societies of German Teachers Abroad).

While No. 2 was completely merged with the VDA, the others were united in a special super-organisation, the *Verband der Freien Deutschtumsvereine* (League of the Free Associations of Germanhood), whose affairs were managed by the VDA, and which comprised over 90 per cent. of all societies inside Germany for foreign Germanhood.

2. *Organisation*

The *Bundesleitung* (Central Office) is in Berlin, W.30, Martin Lutherstr. 97 (VDA-*Haus*). Its *Hauptabteilungen* (chief departments) are :—

(1) Organisation.
(2) Financial Administration.
(3) Press and Literature.
(4) Ideological Training and Propaganda.
(5) Economic Affairs, sub-divided into :—
  (*a*) *Bauerntum* (peasantry).
  (*b*) *Handwerk* (hand-workers).
  (*c*) *Handel und Industrie* (trade and industry).
(6) Cultural Work.
(7) Social Work.
(8) Education and Training.

In addition, there were geographical divisions, each dealing with a special *Volksgruppe* (ethnic group), known as *Länderreferate*. The VDA had its own publishing firm, *Grenze und Ausland*, a department for the distribution of books among the German libraries abroad (*Mittelstelle für auslandsdeutsches Büchereiwesen*) and a business concern, the *VDA Wirtschaftsunternehmen GmbH*, which, among other things, had its own large printing press. Up to 1938, the regional sub-branches consisted of twenty-five *Landesverbände*, including Austria, but since it has assimilated its organisation to the NSDAP, and is now sub-divided into forty-two *Gauverbände*. At the end of 1933 it had 2,000,000 members, organised in local groups, viz., 3,013 adult groups, 13,931 school groups, and 41 academic groups at universities and colleges. A special service for women (*Frauendienst des VDA*) maintained close relations with German women's organisations abroad. Wherever German communities of foreign nationality exist, the VDA had its agencies. In 1933 it maintained no less than 9,200 German schools of all descriptions abroad, in addition to a large number of other cultural institutions. It awarded scholarships, maintained close relations with German sports leagues abroad, supported the German press and libraries abroad, had its own advice bureaux for emigrants, and organised exchanges of German youth organisations all over the world. On May 6th, 1933, an agreement for close collaboration between the VDA and the Hitler Youth was signed. "As a visible sign of its close ties with the HJ," the agreement stated, "the VDA-armlet will be adorned with the swastika symbol."

3. *Policy*

The aim of the VDA, as shaped in the new policy adopted at Passau in 1933, was, according to Steinacher, "the maintenance of our race outside the border. . . . Borders can separate the life of states, but not the life of a people. No matter if the state be forced here and there to give up its claims, and to put up with frontiers which lie on the hither side of our ethnic borders, the race does not admit any such renunciation." This aim was hardly reconcilable with what Schäfer, in his official booklet, described as the First Working Principle of the VDA, namely :—

> "Strict neutrality towards all parties, denominations and other political groups in internal policy; equally strict neutrality in foreign policy. The VDA in no way attempts to influence the foreign policy of the government, nor does it interfere in the policy of foreign states. It leaves the representation of the interests of German minorities to them alone."[*]

This principle of non-interference was, to the outbreak of war, so frequently stated, not only by

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[*] The President of the VDA from 1931/33 was Gessler, Reich Defence Minister, 1920/28, and member of the Democratic Party.

[*] *Op cit.*, page 30.

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VDA leaders, but also by the highest Nazi authorities—such as Hitler, Hess and Bohle—that individual quotations are superfluous. Yet Steinacher, in his inauguration address in Passau, refused to recognise the existence of Germans of foreign nationality and stated that it was wrong to speak of *Deutsch-Russen, Deutsch-Böhmen* (German-Russians, German-Bohemians), etc., and that the right term was *russische, böhmische,* etc., *Deutsche* (Russian, Bohemian, etc., Germans). He coined the slogan, " Germans of all nations, unite," and declared that the final aim of both VDA and NSDAP was " *die Eroberung des letzten deutschen Menschen,*" *i.e.,* the conquest of the last German.

4. *The VDA and the Nazi Party*

The last quotation in itself, as well as the agreement with the HJ, shows the indisputable connection between the VDA and the Party. Yet the pretence was long kept up that the VDA was an independent organisation, and in particular had no connection with the AO. Schäfer acknowledged that the " high political talent of our Führer " recognised at once what an important instrument for a successful racial-German policy he had at his hand in an " independent VDA." To the question, " Why a strong VDA ? " he replied, for instance :—

> " Because otherwise the Party and the HJ would be compelled to form special organisations for the solution of the work assigned to the VDA."

And

> " Because the leaders of the VDA are, without exception, not only National Socialists of the Party, but also of the spirit."

And

> " Because our Leader and People's Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, desires a strong VDA for the purpose of a strong and successful racial policy."*

Under cover of independence, an all-out propaganda campaign, concerning the situation and conditions of German minorities abroad, was launched during the years 1933 to 1938, to prepare the German people by leaflets, pictorial publications, charts, population maps, and bulky volumes, for future aggression. " Every third German lives outside the border," was the most popular slogan. To arrive at this figure it was necessary to include " ten to twelve million overseas Germans in the United States," 2,860,000 in Switzerland, and 250,000 in Luxembourg. The same pamphlet, of which 300,000 copies were distributed, stated with regard to Denmark :—

> " Denmark : 60,000. Among them 50,000 in the lost North Schleswig. Our racial comrades in lost land. They have to preserve themselves in violent economic and cultural struggles. This is done mainly by the creation of excellent schools and libraries. The VDA's work in the separated areas of North Schleswig has been a great blessing during recent years. The number of German schools rose from 9 to 20 ; the number of German pupils from 249 to 815 ; the number of teachers from 17 to 49."†

The farce of independence was dropped after the annexation of Austria, and special duties have since been assigned to the VDA in all annexed areas. In December, 1938, the famous geopolitician, Professor Haushofer, teacher of Rudolf Hess, was made President of the VDA in place of Steinacher. It was, however, not revealed until January, 1944, that for some time SS-*Obergruppenführer* Werner LORENZ had been the President of the organisation. The date of his appointment cannot be established, but it is most probable that Haushofer was ousted after Hess's flight to England.

Lorenz was one of Himmler's most intimate collaborators. After having been an active SS-Leader, he became Chief of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (see above, Chapter III, A, I, 3), in January, 1937, and simultaneously Himmler's expert on foreign affairs. In February, 1939, he was made President of the *Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände und Einrichtungen* (Association of Inter-state Societies and Institutions), which controlled all the numerous social, cultural, scientific and artistic societies or institutes which connect Germany with any foreign state.* The Association was the agency for the foundation and supervision of German scientific institutes abroad, for German exhibitions in foreign countries, for foreign tours of German orchestras, artists, lecturers, etc. It also issued permits to foreign scholars, theatrical companies, deputations, etc., wishing to enter Germany, or foreign exhibitions to be held in the Reich. As a member of Himmler's personal staff, Lorenz was able to make full use of the card index of foreigners kept by the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt,* the central office of the Gestapo.

As chief of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle,* Lorenz became not only the chief supervisor of the repatriation of ethnic Germans (see Chapter III), but also the virtual dictator of the ethnic groups abroad. Thus it seemed only fitting that he should also be the Leader of the VDA. On the occasion of a meeting of VDA leaders in Poznan on January 23rd, 1944, he gave the following account of the VDA's war-time work : It had succeeded in inducing over one million Reich Germans to volunteer as doctors, teachers, officials, nurses and advisers for short-term work in the annexed eastern *Gaue* ; half a million books, " representing the very best in German literature," had been distributed among the *Volkstum* libraries. of the various ethnic groups ; 10,000 holders of scholarships and several thousand trainees from the ethnic groups were being trained in the Reich,

5. *Affiliated and Kindred Organisations*

(i) *Deutsches Auslands-Institut* (*German Foreign Institute*), *Stuttgart*

The DAI was founded in 1917 with the express purpose of furthering German interests abroad by maintaining contact with all those of German extraction who had migrated, or were on the point of migrating, to foreign countries. It possessed the most comprehensive collection of material concerning Germanhood abroad. It was never intended to be a mere research institute, but was entrusted with practical tasks, such as the giving of advice to emigrants on legal and economic matters, and general information on conditions among Germans abroad. Its scientific standing was high during the Republican period, its director being Dr. Fritz Wertheimer, Mexican consul in Württemberg, and its president the well-known industrialist, Carl

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* *Op. cit.*, page 45.

† For the facts about Denmark, see page 88 f. below.

* To the latest foundations belong : The German-Indian Society in Hamburg, founded September 11th, 1942 ; the German-Japanese Society, founded November, 1942 ; German-Bulgarian Society, January 21st, 1943; German-Spanish Society, March 3rd, 1943 ; Lorenz was always present at the inauguration ceremonies in Germany and abroad.

Bosch, Chairman of the Board of Directors of *I.G. Farben.* The headquarters of the institute were at Stuttgart, where, in 1925, it occupied a magnificent building, the *Haus des Deutschtums.*

"Co-ordination" with Nazi ideology and exploitation for the purpose of Nazi foreign policy took place soon after Hitler's accession to power. The committee was abolished and a Council of Three—Steinacher, Leader of the VDA; Dr. Robert Ernst, Leader of the *Deutsche Schutzbund* and the Alsatian League in Germany; and Headmaster Dr. Krehl, of Stuttgart, as "representative of the ethnic groups"—was appointed by the new Württemberg Nazi government to elect a new president and a new director. Professor Richard Csacki, a fanatical National Socialist from Transylvania, was nominated director.* At a huge ethnic German demonstration immediately after his appointment, he declared that he felt his mission to be to act as liaison officer between the homeland and ethnic Germans, adopting the principle, "Wherever a German farmer ploughs his land, there is German soil." At this same meeting it was declared that the research and practical work of the institute had now been put on a new basis. "Relationship based on blood ties is the foundation on which the DAI and the entire task of protecting Germanhood abroad is erected."

Of the multitude of facilities offered by the different departments of the Institute, only the following need be mentioned:—

The Library of Germanhood Abroad, with 100,000 volumes,

The *Volksdeutscher Buchdienst,* a bibliographical service,

The Archive of the German Foreign Press, subscribing to 335 foreign German daily papers and 654 periodicals before the war,

The Distribution Department, sending reading material to Germans abroad,

The Map Department, possessing 15,000 maps and issuing a *Volksdeutsche Kartendienst* (map information service),

The Lantern Slide and Illustration Department, issuing a *Bilderdienst,*

The Chief Card Index Department, keeping account of some 40,000 organisations of Germans abroad,

Advice Department for emigrants,

Department for Ideological Training,

Information and Arbitration Department (for Reich Germans about foreign conditions and for ethnic Germans about German conditions).

On August 27th, 1936, Hitler opened the *Ehrenmal der deutschen Leistung im Ausland* (Monument of German Achievement Abroad), and dedicated it as an exhibition hall and training school for the Institute. Simultaneously, Stuttgart was designated as the *Stadt der Auslandsdeutschen* (City of Germans Abroad), and Bohle assumed the position of honorary mayor. Henceforth, the huge rallies of Germanhood abroad, whether for Reich Germans or ethnic Germans, were held annually in Stuttgart with incredible display.

Although the Institute remained nominally a private and independent concern, it became a link between the Party on the one hand and the AO and VDA on the other, as the action taken in 1936 clearly shows. Money was lavishly provided by the German Government, the municipality of Stuttgart and from other sources. The Stuttgart broadcasting station was housed in the Institute building. Programmes were mainly devoted to stimulating the interest of Germans abroad in the Reich, and developing social, political and economic relationships favourable to "National Socialism." The Department for Emigration was attached to the Re-emigration Office of the AO. It acted as a labour exchange for German workers seeking employment abroad. Its training school not only trained all future leaders of the AO, of the ethnic groups and of the VDA, but also younger members of the diplomatic and consular services. This department also selected the curricula of the many *Schulungslager* (indoctrination camps) for Germans abroad, acting as intermediary between the German government, which ran the camps, and persons who attended them. How it served the cause of German espionage can be gathered from a circular letter sent out by the *Kameradschaft USA* in January, 1941, which called for:—

> "The collection of pictures, photos, handbills, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and posters of the German national movement in the USA, which began in the spring of 1939, will be continued.
>
> The material . . . is to be built up to a complete collection, which later is to be incorporated into the DAI, as well as the central archives of the NSDAP in Munich, as an eternal record of our struggle in the United States."*

The address of the *Kameradschaft USA* was Stuttgart, Danziger Freiheit 17, which is that of the DAI headquarters.

(ii) *Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut* (German Research Institute for Foreign Affairs), Berlin C. 2, Schinkelplatz 6.

This is affiliated to the University of Berlin and the Research Institute of the *Auslandswissenschaftliche Fakultät.* The latter, independent until 1939, was originally the *Hochschule für Politik,* founded by the Republican authorities in 1921 and re-named *Auslandshochschule* in 1937. The Dean of the Faculty is Professor Franz Alfred Six, SS-*Oberführer,* who is also chief of the department for Cultural Policy in the Foreign Office, and head of an unnamed department in the Central Office of the Gestapo (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*). Karl Haushofer holds the chair for geopolitics.

The Institute was founded by Six in 1939 and was given the following tasks "by the Reich": (*a*) to train experts in the knowledge of foreign countries, including linguists and interpreters; (*b*) to conduct independent research into conditions in foreign countries with a view to using the results for practical politics; (*c*) to provide facilities for discussions with foreign scientists and politicians, especially in the sphere of the "New European Order" and the creation of a "new political view of the world" (*ein neues politisches Weltbild*). Thus holiday courses for foreigners, the cultivation of cultural relations abroad, scholarships for foreign students to study *Auslandswissenschaften* at the Institute, and lectures given abroad by the members of the Institute, stand high in the list of its activities. A course for foreigners, conducted in 1941 under the collective title, "The

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* Csaki was killed in an air crash in February, 1944, when on his way to lecture to Kesselring's troops.

* "*Mitteilungen der Kameradschaft USA.*" No. 1, January, 1941, page 6. The issue is prefaced by the words: "This communication is confidential. It is intended exclusively for the members of the Comradeship U.S.A. Any violation of this rule will result in the suspension of the circular letter."

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Birth of the New Europe," was attended by 303 students from 38 different countries, including the South American States, but excluding Switzerland. An annual publication, "*Jahrbuch der Weltpolitik*" (over 1,000 pages), contains an extensive regional bibliography. The Institute has taken over the "*Zeitschrift für Politik.*"

(iii) *Deutsche Akademie* (Munich 8, Maximilianeum)

This, too, is a Republican foundation, set up in 1925 as an *Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und Pflege des Deutschtums* (Academy for Scientific Research and the Cultivation of Germanhood). In addition to research, it always had the practical duty of promoting all cultural activities of Germanhood, especially abroad. It has a Senate of 100 members, a Grand Council consisting of honorary delegates and friends, a small Administrative Council and a President.

The Nazi government was quick to include this institution in the vast range of its machinery to influence foreign opinion, and in particular Germans abroad. In 1941 the task of the Institute was defined as "cultivating all non-official cultural relations abroad in the service of the total national consciousness of the German people."* In November, 1941, the Academy was granted by *Führer*-decree the rights and obligations of a public corporation. It was given state recognition and the right to collaborate in the spreading of German culture.

The Academy's branches abroad are in the form of *Lektorate* or *Mittelstellen*. In 1944 there were eighty, most of them in occupied and satellite countries. For German language courses, a special Institute was affiliated to the Academy in 1933, known as the *Goethe-Institut*. The programme for 1944 projected four times as many organised meetings throughout Europe as in 1940.

The president of the German Academy was, from its *Gleichschaltung* in 1933 until 1937, Karl Haushofer, who also had great influence in the VDA and the *Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut*. Goebbels, within whose sphere of activity the Institute comes, appointed Seyss-Inquart, Reich Commissioner for Holland, president, in January, 1944. The *Rektor* of Munich University, Professor Walther Wüst, is deputy president. The President of the *Goethe Institut* is *Konrad Henlein*, Reich Governor of "Sudetenland."

(iv) *Deutsch-Akademischer Austauschdienst* (German Students' Exchange Service), Berlin, N.W.40, Kronprinzenufer 13

This was founded in 1931 with the object of centralising the supervision and welfare of German students and professors abroad and of foreign students in Germany. It had twenty-three offices at various German universities (*Akademische Auslandsstellen*), and exchange offices in foreign university-towns such as London, Paris, Madrid, Barcelona and Budapest. During the war it arranged exchange visits of German and foreign students and supervised all foreign students, particularly those from German minorities abroad, of whom there were 8,000 in 1944.

(v) *Reichskolonialbund*, Berlin, W.15, Meinekestr. 18/19.

The Reich Colonial League was founded in 1936, combining all societies promoting the "colonial idea" and being the only recognised organisation in this field. It is directly supervised by the Party as a *Betreuter Verband*, and comprised 2,000,000 uniformed members organised in 42 *Gauverbände*. It had its own hierarchy corresponding to that of the NSDAP. The president of the League was Franz Ritter von Epp, *Reichsleiter* of the *Kolonialpolitisches Amt der NSDAP* (now dissolved) and Reich Governor of Bavaria. The aim of the League is to "propagate the necessity of colonies on the basis of Nazi ideology and to strengthen Germanhood in the colonies."

(vi) *Reichsbund Deutscher Seegeltung*, Berlin W.35, Hildebrandstr. 18.

The Reich League for German Influence at Sea combines all former societies for the promotion of a strong German fleet, such as the *Deutsche Flottenverein*. Its periodical "*Wir und die Welt*" is advertised as "the representative monthly publication serving the idea of 'Germany and the World.'" The League is closely linked with the Society for Geopolitics, whose president is Karl Haushofer (see above).

B.—THE GERMAN MINORITIES (*VOLKSGRUPPEN*) IN EUROPE

I. The Problem of the German Minorities

The German minorities in Europe present a complex problem, which is rooted in the historical development of the last hundred years, and in the geographical distribution of the German-speaking peoples.

The essence of this problem is the existence of a compact mass of some 80 million German-speaking people in Central Europe. They have never formed an independent political entity, but were nationals of the states in which they reside. Each group has therefore developed differently. The greatest difficulties arose in the regions east and south-east of the German "Reich" as formed in 1870. With regard to the south-eastern regions, which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, the problems with which the Habsburgs had had to wrestle, remained unsolved. The Germans had claimed to be the "state-nation," at least for the Austrian section, although various governments under Franz Josef I pursued a policy of conciliation between the different nations of the Empire. This policy, however, was so strongly attacked by German nationalists, and the German influence within the imperial administration was so strong that great resentment against the Germans continued after the Empire broke up in 1918. The German minorities within the succession states, *i.e.* in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Italy and the Galician part of Poland had lost their focal point, Vienna. The resentment felt against them by the new "state-nations" and the resentment they felt at having lost their preponderant position caused widespread friction. The German minorities turned to the German Reich for support and assistance.

In Eastern Europe, territory that had belonged to Prussia since 1815, and to the German Reich since 1870, fell to Poland. Here, too, the Germans, who, as a minority, had been masters, were now compelled to play second fiddle. There remained three further regions which had been affected by the Treaty, and which caused trouble after 1918—Alsace-Lorraine (the fate of which was internationally and unambiguously settled by the Treaty of Locarno in 1925), Austria and Danzig, where persons of German origin were in the majority.

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* "*Im Dienste des gesamtdeutschen Volksbewusstseins.*'

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The League of Nations tried to settle the German minority problems by arbitration and the laying down of minority statutes, which would give the German minorities a fair deal. Equality of right as citizens, and the right to cultural autonomy, were granted, *i.e.*, the free use of the German language and educational facilities of various kinds.

There is no doubt that these minority rights were frequently violated during the period between the two great wars. The establishment of dictatorships in Hungary in 1920, in Italy in 1922, in Yugoslavia in 1929, in Lithuania and Latvia in 1934, and in Poland in 1935, deprived the German minorities of their rights of local government, of representation in parliament, and of organisation in societies. The German minorities shared these losses with their fellow-citizens, who were also deprived of their civic rights. However, before these countries adopted Fascism in one form or another, organisations of the German minorities were frequently dissolved, and the rights of cultural autonomy limited. It is questionable whether these events were always the fault of the authorities of the state-nation.

The German minorities up to 1933 (and later for different reasons) were always divided in their aims. One section wished to settle down and accept the situation resulting from the defeat of the Reich or the break-up of the Habsburg Empire. They realised that resentment offered no permanent solution of political problems, and sincerely desired reconciliation and collaboration with the governments concerned, making the best of the rights granted to them by international treaties. The other section was fervently nationalist and made trouble at every opportunity. Possessed by the Pan-German idea which had taken such strong hold of the border regions long before the first Great War, they conspired against their governments and against their fellow members of the German minorities. Up to 1933, these malcontents nowhere formed the majority, but they had the loudest voice and were in touch with the nationalist organisation which the German and Austrian Republics allowed to spring up without hindrance.

The attitude of the German Republican governments was ambiguous. The Republic was within its rights in laying the grievances of such minorities as had been severed from the Reich before the League of Nations, but it was not reconciled to the eastern frontier settlements. The real damage, however, was caused by the educational policy pursued under the German Republic. Official and unofficial publications on the situation of Germans abroad (especially school text-books) infringed article 148 of the Reich Constitution, which laid it down that German education should be conducted in a spirit of international reconciliation. The teaching in the schools falsified population figures and the objects of measures taken by foreign governments, it exaggerated such incidents as occurred, and gave a completely one-sided picture of the conditions under which the German minorities lived. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the Republican governments allowed the various organisations described above to conduct their activities unchecked, and were satisfied with the constant assurance that they were "politically and denominationally" neutral. Furthermore, all the German firebrand nationalist organisations outside the Reich had their parallel organisations inside Germany proper. These were the *Ostmarkenverein*, the Baltic Societies, the *Hilfsbund der Elsass-Lothringer*, the *Deutsch-Österreichische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, the *Sudetendeutscher Heimatbund*, the *Schleswig-Holsteiner Bund*. All were in close touch with the most violently nationalist associations inside Germany—the Pan-German League, the Free Corps, the Farmers' League and the right-wing parties, including the Nazi Party, which early established its strongholds in all these organisations.

Thus Hitler found the way well prepared. It has been shown in Section A of this chapter how the existing organisations inside Germany were not only *gleichgeschaltet* in the quickest possible way, but also exploited as agencies for the furthering of political aims abroad. *Gleichschaltung* was also applied to the many regional associations or *Heimatverbände* that existed inside Germany. The main plan was that there should be a central association under Nazi leadership for each minority group. Such were the *Bund deutscher Osten*, embracing all *Heimatverbände* dealing with Germans in the eastern European countries, and pursuing the aim of "establishing links between Germany and the Eastern German border regions," and of creating "cultural strongholds in the east"; the *Bund der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich*, embracing all societies of Alsatians and Lorrainers living in the Reich, led by Dr. Robert Ernst* who had been expelled by the French authorities in 1919; the *Baltische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, embracing all societies of Germans in the Baltic States. Finally, the *Verband deutscher Vereine im Ausland* (VDV) had the task of contacting all German societies abroad, keeping them in close touch with the "homeland," informing them about the new Germany, and promoting their collaboration. Page 79

Hitler's racial policy and the vast propaganda machine which was unleashed by this multitude of organisations soon became a menace to the whole of Europe. The creation of fifth columns in all states where German colonies or German minorities were settled was not only the work of such organisations as the AO or the VDA, but also of the minority leaders. They collaborated (often without the knowledge of most of their members) with the agents of the Gestapo and of German espionage. The cumulative effect of their propaganda, their persuasive arguments, lavish hospitality, bribery and threats, was generally decisive. It was the task of the AO, in conjunction with other German agencies, to disrupt the political forces of countries where there were no German minorities in strength, countries such as Holland, Belgium, Norway and France. It was the task of the German minorities, together with representatives of the AO and forces in opposition to the existing régime (fascist organisations, other non-German minorities), to disrupt the Eastern and South-Eastern European states. "One of the main causes of the rapid Polish collapse was the perfection with which the extensive espionage system of the German minority in Poland carried out its functions. Numerous short-wave transmitters kept the German Army Command continually informed," said a leading Swiss military expert.† Neutral testimonies are, however, quite unnecessary, for the leaders of German *Volksgruppen* in the dismembered states have openly boasted of the successes they achieved.‡ These facts make it

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* Ernst and many of his collaborators now hold leading positions in the administration of Alsace.

† Colonel Bircher's lecture on the Polish campaign, reported in "*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*," March 7th, 1940.

‡ Thus Greiser praised the political activities of the Sports Club *Germania* in Poznan (celebrating its fiftieth anniversary) which had facilitated Hitler's aim. "*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*," Lodz, June 6th, 1944. See also Note § on next page and Appendix on "Sudetenland" below.

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difficult to judge whether the grievances which the German minorities had against their governments before the Nazis came to power were well founded or not. It is however clear that, after 1933, the leaders of the German minorities refused to act as loyal subjects of their countries, and placed their loyalty to Germany above all else. All opposition—the strongest being in Czechoslovakia—was crushed. The moderate leaders were deposed. Jews, " non-Aryans " and political opponents in their midst were outlawed. Militant formations were formed, hostile to the state in which they lived, either clandestinely or in the guise of sports groups and cultural societies. Lord Perth, Secretary-General of the League of Nations from 1920 to 1933, summed up the process in the House of Lords on March 8th, 1944, as follows :—

> " When Germany was weak, the minorities lay low and professed loyalty. When Germany got stronger, the complaints of the minorities got stronger and louder. When Hitler had come into power, the minorities gradually threw off the mask, and ultimately they became the fervent supporters of a Greater Germany with which they wished to be united. It is true that there were certain loyal exceptions who did their best to prevent this happening, but by terroristic means and other methods they were unfortunately rendered completely impotent."

II. The Situation of the German *Volksgruppen* since 1938

Recognising that a solution of the minorities problem in Europe could only be found on the basis of a common European idea, all European national minorities discussed their problems at a Nationalities' Congress, which met from 1925 onwards. The Congress usually assembled at Geneva and collaborated closely, up to 1937, with the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The purpose of the Congress was to watch over the fulfilment of the minority treaties and to propose improvements on them. Only representatives of the minority groups were admitted. It was a condition that groups represented should not entertain irredentist aims but remain loyal towards their respective states.

Thirteen different nations and thirty-five minority groups were represented at the Congress in 1932. Among the nations, the German minorities were the strongest, representing eleven different groups, viz., those of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania. France was not represented, as the Alsatians were not considered a German minority group according to international law. For the discussion of their own common problems, the German minorities combined in the *Ausschuss der deutschen Minderheiten Europas*, founded in 1922. In 1930 this title was changed to *Verband der deutschen Volksgruppen in Europa*. This change of name indicated a change of policy ; it showed that, under the influence of the Nazi election victory, the " racial " theory had been adopted. Moderate leaders tried to oppose this idea. Thus Paul Schiemann stated at the annual Congress of the *Verband* in 1932 :—

> " The idea that only the racially unpolluted members of a nation can possess full civic rights has been raised to a national axiom. . . . How can we, representatives of minorities, fight for our rights and our freedom if we can be countered day after day with the argument that these very rights are questioned in principle by an ever-increasing number of our own countrymen ? "[*]

How the " racial principle " imposed upon the minorities by the Nazis after their accession to power resulted in continuous strife within the German minorities need not be described in detail. Schiemann summarises the situation in the following paragraph :—

> " The attempts by Nazi minority members to impose themselves upon the majority by moral terror have led to a poisoning of the communal life of the German minorities which in varying degrees must to-day (1937) be recorded in all areas where German settlements exist."

1. *The German Minority in Slovakia*

The German minority in Slovakia, as determined by the frontiers of October, 1938, numbered in 1940 about 140,000 (or 5 per cent. of the total population).[†] They settled in three main centres.

In Bratislava (Pressburg), the capital, there were about 30,000 ethnic Germans out of a total population of 138,000.[‡] Another 15,000 to 20,000 Germans lived in the villages round Bratislava. The second settlement area is around the towns of Kremnitsa (Kremnitz) and Nemecke Pravno (Deutsch-Proben), where there are about 40,000 in twenty-two villages. The largest group is in the valley of the river Poprad, in the Tatra mountains, of which the urban centre is Kezmarok (Käsmark) ; these Germans of the Spis (Zips), as the region is called, founded their settlements in the twelfth century, coming originally from Saxony, and now number at the outside 45,000. They form the core of the ethnic group, and Käsmark (deriving its name from the Hungarian Casimir) was the centre of its activities. Their association was the " *Karpathenverein*," founded in 1873. When Henlein founded his *Sudetendeutsche Partei* for Bohemia and Moravia in 1933, a corresponding Nazi Party for Slovakia, the *Karpathendeutsche Partei*, was set up in Bratislava, with Henlein as leader and Franz Karmasin as his deputy. The Party's mainstay was Bratislava, while the Germans of Spis showed strong opposition to the Nazification of their communities.

Karmasin's political object was to foster all forces which would lead to the disruption of the Czechoslovak Republic. He fulfilled his task to the great satisfaction of Berlin during the period between Munich and the occupation of Prague. He was the intermediary between Ribbentrop and the leaders of the Slovak Fascist Party, the Hlinka Movement, which strove for secession from the Republic and for the foundation of an independent Slovak State.[§] In return, Karmasin secured from the leaders of the Hlinka Movement, Tiso and

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[*] *Cf.* Paul Schiemann, " *Ein europäisches Problem. Unabhängige Betrachtungen zur Minderheitenfrage,*" Vienna, 1937. Schiemann, the leader of the German minority in Latvia, was the German member of the Board of Presidents of the Nationality Congress from 1927 to 1933. He died in Riga in July, 1944.

[†] In 1910, 183,000, or 8·4 per cent., including 35,000 persons of the Jewish faith, in 1930, 147,501. The preliminary Slovak census of December 31st, 1938, only claimed 126,000 Germans ; German leaders usually mention 150,000.

[‡] In 1852, Bratislava had 37,000 inhabitants, among whom 31,000 were Germans. Corresponding figures for 1930 (Czech census) were : 124,000 inhabitants and 36,000 Germans.

[§] On Hitler's birthday in 1943 Karmasin stated : " We were found worthy to be standard-bearers of the Führer's ideas outside the frontiers of the Reich ; in his spirit we were allowed to help to destroy Czechoslovakia."

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Tuka, exceptional privileges for all members of the ethnic groups. These were finally embodied in the constitution of July 21st, 1939.

According to this Statute, the Germans in the Slovak State are represented by a State Secretariat, which deals exclusively with their affairs and guards their rights. It possesses the right to issue decrees with the force of law for the members of the ethnic group. The only Party permitted in addition to the official Slovak Hlinka Party is the *Deutsche Partei* (German Party), which has four members in the diet (Snem) and one member in the State Council. There is also a special German School Department in the Ministry of Education, headed by a German.*

The ethnic group, which was declared a public corporation in May, 1940, has its own elaborate organisation, with its headquarters in Bratislava. It collects its own taxes (*Volkssteuer*), which are in addition to the taxes collected by the State. It has its own para-military body, the *Freiwillige Schutzstaffeln* (FS), modelled on the SS; its *Deutsche Jugend*, an exact replica of the HJ; its *Deutscher Turn- und Sportverband*, a replica of the NSRL; its Labour Front—the *Arbeitsfront der Volksdeutschen*; its Labour Service—the *Aufbaudienst*, whose chief aim is to educate the *Volksgruppe* members in the ways of National Socialism. There are the inevitable *Kulturamt, Frauenamt, Hauptamt* for *Volkswohlfahrt* and for *Volksgesundheit*. There is a *Karpathendeutsche Studentenschaft* with a *Landesstudentenführer*, though the number of students at German universities does not exceed 250, and also a German Educational Association. A *Zentralverband für Handel und Gewerbe* organises German employers. It is the responsibility of the Slovak State to provide sufficient schools of all descriptions for the German minority. Thus, the German minority leaders have pointed out, not without reason, that Slovakia under German " protection " since 1939 " has solved the German minority problem in an exemplary way." The Slovak State even contributes funds for the maintenance of the German Party, *Deutsche Jugend* and the FS.† Other minorities (88,000 Czechs, 88,000 Ruthenians, 67,000 Magyars) did not fare so well. The 88,000 professing Jews (according to 1940 figures) came under the jurisdiction of the Nuremberg laws.

Yet there are many indications that Karmasin's self-imposed dictatorship is not universally welcomed by the members of the German ethnic group. His decrees, introducing compulsory Labour Service and compulsory membership of the Labour Front, have damped such enthusiasm as may at one time have prevailed. As the continuous drives for volunteers for the Armed SS remained unsatisfactory, an agreement between the German and Slovak governments was concluded in May, 1944, introducing conscription of the *Volksgruppe* for the *Waffen-SS*; all soldiers of German origin in the Slovak army were transferred to the SS.

The membership of the German Party was said to be between 60,000 and 70,000, that of the Labour Front (after introduction of compulsory service) 33,000, by the end of 1943. The entreaties of the political leaders, their frantic canvassing on behalf of Party organisations, their admonitions and exhortations to comply with total mobilisation, differ very little from the language used by Nazi leaders in Luxembourg, Alsace, Lorraine, or Slovenia.

It was stated that " grumblers and shirkers still disgrace the ethnic group, and the leadership will compel these people to collaborate under the law enforcing military training. Obscure elements jeopardising the ethnic group's common effort will be permanently expelled." Summonses to join the Armed SS were received with fear and trembling, and there were "*Parteigeniesser*" (Party parasites) who merely took advantage of the facilities offered them without rendering any service. As late as January, 1944, there were still Germans who " avoid military service, shun work, and succumb to enemy propaganda." The section most castigated, however, was the people from the Sips, whose enthusiasm had never been great. Therefore, in July, 1944, it was found necessary to tighten the hold over the German community by increased activities on the part of the *Politische Leiter*. Special control bodies were set up.* A mobile *SS-Einsatzstaffel* and a *Volksdeutsch* (*Heimatschutz*) taking orders directly from the German commander, General von Hubicki, have been created. Thus events have led to a serious crisis, which has been apparent ever since Stalingrad.

2. German Minorities in Yugoslavia

(i) *Yugoslavia before* 1941

There are four main centres of German settlement in Yugoslavia. The two in Slovenia (55,000) and Northern Bosnia (20,000) have been mentioned in Chapter III. The bulk of the German colonists live far away from the Austrian border, north of a line formed by the rivers Danube and Drava. This area, the Vojvodina, consisting of the regions of Baranja, Bačka and the Serb Banat, is one of the most racially mixed in Europe. Numerically, Southern Slavs equal the inhabitants of non-Slavonic origin—Magyars, Germans and Rumanians. According to the Yugoslav census of 1931, 316,000 people (22 per cent.) spoke German as their mother tongue, and had their cultural centre in Novi Sad (Neusatz). German estimates have reached 450,000. On the south-eastern fringe of the Vojvodina, beyond the rivers Drava and Danube, in Eastern Slavonia and Srem (Syrmien), there are other large colonies numbering about 128,000 people, or 4·1 per cent. of the total population. The two groups are descended from Swabians, who immigrated to these regions in the eighteenth century.

The Swabians in the Vojvodina established a *Schwäbisch-Deutsche Kulturband* in 1920. In 1930 this was allowed to extend its activities over the whole kingdom, and then had about 250 local branches in all German settlement areas. The political *Deutsche Partei* was dissolved, together with all other parties, after the establishment of a dictatorship by the King in 1929. There is no doubt that many of the rights of minorities, especially of the German group, were infringed, though fewer attempts at assimilation were made

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* The German school system has expanded considerably and the number of places with German schools rose from 88 in 1938 to 122 in 1943, when 26,000 children were taught by 869 teachers in 181 schools of all descriptions.

† The extent to which the German State Secretariat controls the Slovak State can be seen from the fact that it collaborates even in the drafting of bills which are a purely Slovak concern, such as the military law and the anti-Jewish laws. It also has representatives in the six county administrations and judges the political reliability of German applicants for public posts and of State officials. (Source: " *Deutsche Stimmen*," Bratislava, October 9th, 1943.)

* One was called the *Hauptleitung*, consisting of all *Hauptleiters* (departmental heads), the *Landesmannschaftsführer* (head of the SS), the *Landesjugendführer*, the *Landesfrauenschaftsleiterin*, the *Kriegerbundesführer* (ex-servicemen's leader), the *Zentralverbanddirektor* (manager of the organisation for employers).

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in the Drava-Danube area than in the border regions of Rumania.

A bitter struggle broke out among the ethnic group of the Vojvodina and Slavonia after 1933. The clash occurred between the Roman Catholic leaders of the *Kulturbund* and a number of National Socialist agitators, who claimed to be the representatives of an *Erneuerungsbewegung* (revival movement), and formed their own para-military formations for " self-protection " (*Selbstschutz*). In 1939, the struggle was decided in favour of the latter. The separate Nazi organisation formed by Branimir Altgayer in Slavonia merged with the *Kulturbund*, whose former leaders had to retire. The leader of the *Erneuerungsbewegung*, Sepp Janko, became *Obmann* (president). It was claimed that, in 1941, the *Selbstschutz* handed over to the occupying German troops pacified and happy villages in the Banat and the Bačka.

With the partition of Yugoslavia, the bulk of the 570,000 people of German origin estimated to have been living there in 1941 became subjects of other States. The 25,000 Germans of Southern Slovenia, together with the majority of the 15,000 to 20,000 Bosnian Germans, were " repatriated to Poland." The Bačka and Baranja, with some 200,000 Germans, became Hungarian territory. The remainder were assigned to the newly-created " independent State " of Croatia and to occupied Serbia.

(ii) *The Volksgruppe in Croatia*

In 1942 Croatia was estimated to have had some 145,000 ethnic Germans, although the number claimed by the Germans varies between 160,000 and 180,000. With the exception of the capital, Zagreb, and some isolated areas containing about 10,000, the Germans are entirely concentrated in the regions of Eastern Slavonia and Srem, centreing round Osijek and Ruma. It was here that Altgayer founded his *Kultur- und Wohlfahrtsvereinigung der Deutschen in Slavonien*. This qualified him for the leadership of the *Deutsche Volksgruppe in Kroatien*, which was granted the rights of a public corporation by the Croat State Law of June 21st, 1941, and subsequent laws issued in October of the same year. These laws granted the following privileges :

(1) Dr. Branimir Altgayer became a *Staatsdirektor* with authority in all internal affairs over the German community in Croatia, though formally responsible to the Poglavnik. His German assistants had the status of State officials.

(2) The German communities had the right to hoist German flags, sing German songs, wear uniforms and give the Nazi salute. German became the second official language in all parts of the country where Germans numbered more than 20 per cent. of the population.

(3) German mayors in towns and parishes with a German majority could be appointed or dismissed only with the approval of the *Volksgruppe* leader. For the first five years Reich Germans could be appointed to these posts. *Volksdeutsche* civil servants swore allegiance both to Hitler and the Poglavnik, the former having overriding validity.

It was further enacted that Croat citizens who declared themselves German, and were accepted as such by the leaders of the German ethnic group, should count as members of the *Volksgruppe*. The leadership principle was fully upheld. The *Volksgruppenführer* was the supreme legislative and executive agent, and the sole representative of the ethnic group *vis-à-vis* the Croat State, the Reich Government, German ethnic groups in other countries, and other nationality groups in Croatia. The Croat Ministry of Education was obliged by law to create a Department for German Schools, headed by a German nominee of the *Volksgruppenführer*. In June, 1944, this was Professor Hans Kühn, of Zagreb.

These rights were fully developed during the years 1941 to 1944. Osijek was made the headquarters. Here, the Leader's *Stabschef* held sway over a large organisation, comprising the familiar formations and affiliated associations, sub-divided into district and local branches and run by a total of 1,500 " Political Leaders." Among the military formations was the *Deutsche Mannschaft* (*DM*), Altgayer's SA, which by law had equal rights with the Croat Ustaš militia. Special shock troops, the *Einsatzstaffel*, resembled the SS. Altgayer was colonel-in-chief, and units served with the Ustaša in fighting the partisans. The *Deutsche Jugend* (*DJ*) was a replica of the HJ, sub-divided into four *Banne* and one independent *Stamm* for special purposes. *DJ* and the Teachers' Organisation (with 480 members) collaborated closely in indoctrinating 25,000 German school children, and a large expansion in schools of all types took place. When more and more able-bodied adolescents were absorbed into the Armed-SS, all boys and girls over fourteen years of age were called up to serve in the *Heimwacht* (Home Guard), a special formation for home defence, as messengers, auxiliaries and even combatants. This formation was founded in March, 1943, and was compulsory for all men and women between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Labour Service, too, was made compulsory. Recruits entered the German section of the Croat Labour Service, which itself was supervised by a German *Oberstarbeitsführer*.

As 80 per cent. of the German community were employed in agriculture and 15 per cent. were tradesmen, the *Landesbauernführer* had an important position. Special stress has been laid on the development of the old-established co-operative societies which were centralised in the *Agraria* combine in Zagreb. Attached to the Labour Front was the *Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, founded in March, 1942, to which all gainfully employed Germans had to belong.

Andreas Rührig, the Chief of Staff, governed from Osijek, where his special duty was to mobilise all Germans for the war effort. The slogan was : " Private individuals no longer exist in the ethnic group, only soldiers." Altgayer, however, had his chancery in Zagreb, where he carried on his work as Director of State and kept in close contact with Rudolf Empting, the Leader of the AO, the German military commanders and the German minister, Siegfried Kasche. In Croatia the crisis, due to the military disasters of 1943 and 1944, became apparent much later than in Slovakia. Rührig, speaking to 350 ethnic German teachers at a meeting for ideological training in May, 1944, stated that it was their foremost task to " put on the right path our half-hearted people who are standing aloof." In June, the official weekly of the ethnic group, " *Grenzwacht*," said that the enemy was not only at the fighting front, " but has stolen into the *Volksgruppe* ranks. . . . It is difficult to recognise him, and hardly possible to seize him."*

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* " *Grenzwacht*," founded in 1936, is the " *Amtliche Organ und Heimatblatt der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Kroatien* " with the motto " Honour, Blood and Soil." Its chief editor is A. N. Stötzer, Chief of the Office for Press and Propaganda. It is published weekly in Osijek. The German daily paper is the " *Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien* " founded in 1941, and published in Zagreb.

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In April, financial difficulties which allegedly arose from the cost of caring for the many refugees from areas involved in operations with partisans, led to the imposition of compulsory taxes on members by the organisation of the *Volksgruppe*. The greatest difficulties, however, seem to have arisen through the induction of all able-bodied men for military service elsewhere, so that members of the ethnic group felt deprived of any protection in the mounting dangers confronting them. *Landesmannschaftsführer* Eduard Dürr was therefore ordered to re-organise the *DM*, and to intensify military training and discipline among his depleted force.

(iii) *The Volksgruppe in Serbia and the Serb Banat*

The Banat is an area forming a quadrilateral between the rivers Tisa and Maros and the south-western slopes of the Carpathians (see Map 1, Part II). It was ceded to the Habsburg Empire by Turkey in 1718. The Turkish wars had so devastated this region that Empress Maria Theresa called upon peasants from adjacent regions and from south-western Germany and Lorraine (*Schwaben*) to re-cultivate it. This resulted in the mixed population both here and in the adjacent Vojvodina.

The entire Banat belonged to Hungary from 1860 to 1918. In 1910, its area was 28,523 sq. km., and it had 1,582,000 inhabitants, among whom were 388,000 Germans. The Banat was subdivided into three "counties," with Timisoara (Temeswar) as the capital. After the last war, two-thirds of the region fell to Rumania, while the remaining third, comprising some 9,216 sq. km., was assigned to Yugoslavia. Its population amounted to 561,000 in 1921 and 602,000 in 1943, consisting mainly of the following nationalities :—

Nationalities	1921*	1943†
Serbs	240,000	245,000
Germans	127,000	130,000
Magyars	98,000	93,000
Rumanians	68,000	62,000
Czechs and Slovaks ...	18,000	2,000 (Czechs)
Others	10,000	70,000

* Yugoslav census.
† "*Völkischer Beobachter*," March 29th, 1944.

Bela Crkva (Weisskirchen) and thirty-three villages had an absolute German majority in 1921. In Vrršac (Werschetz), the largest town, and six rural parishes, Germans formed the chief national group. Against these forty-seven communities there were 127 which had a non-German majority. The Yugoslav administration combined their part of the Banat, together with the Bačka, Baranja, Srem and districts south of Belgrade, to form the *Dunavska Banovina* (Danube province). After the partition of 1941, the Serb Banat received its peculiar administrative structure as an independent *Okruzi* of Serbia (see Chapter II, 4, ii, p. 12). This region, which comes under the jurisdiction of the commander-in-chief, Serbia, is completely in the hands of the ethnic German group. Its leaders claim that they grant full cultural autonomy to the other national groups.

The leader of the *Deutsche Volksgruppe im Banat und Serbien* is Dr. Sepp Janko, who became chief of the *Schwäbisch-Deutsche Kulturbund* in the whole of Yugoslavia in 1939. Though the administration of the Banat had been in local German hands from the beginning, trouble arose over the annulment of the agrarian reform by the government of General Nedič. On August 19th, 1943, the Council of Ministers was induced to issue a statute granting the ethnic group privileges which surpassed any accorded to corresponding groups in Slovakia and Croatia. The statute defined the membership of the *Volksgruppe* on the same lines as in the other States. In addition, they were given "full freedom of action* in the political, cultural, economic and social spheres." The representative of the ethnic group had his seat in Petrovgrad (Gross-Betschkerek), formerly the seat of a "county" administration.† The interests of the German communities were safeguarded locally by *Vertrauensmänner* (trustees). The right of all members of the group to profess the Nazi *Weltanschauung* to develop their *völkisch* life and to uphold *völkisch* and cultural relations with the German people was assured. The ethnic group was further entitled to create those organisations which were considered necessary to its unhindered activities in the four fields mentioned above. It had the right to impose a special tax (*Pflichtsteuer*) upon its members, which was collected, together with the revenues of the State. The ethnic group was also given the right to apply disciplinary measures against those members who "disobey the orders of their ethnic leaders or who commit libellous actions by word or deed against the honour and the dignity of the German people, the ethnic group, or any leading German personality." In addition, certain offences against the law were decided by *Standsschiedgerichte* (arbitration courts). The *Volksgruppenführer* was empowered to issue decrees for the execution of the rights granted to him by the statute and for decrees published in the official gazette, the "*Amtsblatt der Volksgruppenführung*." By October, 1943, the *Volksgruppe* organisation was completed, and the following offices were in existence :—

(1) *Stabsamt* (Staff Office).
(2) *Landesschutzamt* (Security).
(3) *Hauptamt für Verwaltung* (Administration).
(4) *Organisationsamt* (Organisation).
(5) *Statistisches Amt* (Statistics).
(6) *Amt für Rechtsschutz* (Legal Protection).
(7) *Propaganda und Presseamt* (Propaganda and Press).
(8) *Amt für Schulwesen* (Education and Schools).
(9) *Kulturamt* (Cultural Activities).
(10) *Hauptamt für Volksgesundheit* (Public Health).
(11) *Amt für Leibesübungen* (Physical Training ; controlling all sports clubs).
(12) *Hauptamt für Volkswirtschaft* (Economic Affairs).
(13) *Bauernamt* (Agriculture).
(14) *Gewerbe* (Trade and Commerce).
(15) *Amt für Genossenschaftswesen* (Co-operatives of which there are 162, with 30,000 members).
(16) *Ergänzungsamt* (probably Recruiting Office).
(17) *Amt für Volksgruppenbeiträge* (Tax Collecting Office).

The ethnic group had ninety-one local branches and twenty-four *Stützpunkte* (bases) in the Serb Banat. In addition, a special *Prinz Eugen Kreis*

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* *Das volle Wirkungsrecht.*

† The town had 8,000 Germans among a population of 28,000 in 1921.

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Serbia was formed, comprising the fifteen branches of Serbia proper, notably the strong German group in Belgrade. *Volksgerichte* (People's Courts) were set up, and eventually combined in one court, the *Haus der Deutschen Volksgerichtsbarkeit* (House of the German People's Justice), in Betschkerek. "Crimes against the spirit of the *Volksgruppe*" were expiated in special educational camps. Most of the able-bodied men of the ethnic group were called up for military service in the SS-Division *Prinz Eugen*. One thousand of these formed the German police force of the Banat. The absence of the greater part of the male population is said to account for the small number of men in the various Party formations, 6,171 men as against 40,603 women and 15,474 boys and girls (October, 1943).

Economically, the Banat has been of great value to Germany, not only because of its rich grain crops, but particularly because of the cultivation of oil-producing plants, which was greatly extended under German occupation. All food exports were ear-marked for Germany, "and the garden of the plain of the Banat was made a forbidden Eden for the Serbs" by means of a strict export ban on products for Serbia. When Banat grain was lent to Belgrade just beyond the Danube, Serbia was required to return the equivalent amount at a later date. Evidently it was the intention of the Reich authorities to re-create in the Serb Banat a small but wealthy German model colony administered by ethnic Germans. In September, 1944, the Germans owned as much land as the Serbs, cultivated 55 per cent. of the vineyards, and worked 60 per cent. of all brick kilns and 65 per cent. of all mills. In April, 1944, when Lorenz invested Janko with the Order for Meritorious War Service, First Class with Swords, the Banat was praised as an "island of peace and order." There has been no evidence of opposition within the ethnic group, which has indeed flourished under the privileged régime from 1941 to the Russian conquest of this region in October 1944.

3. *German Minorities in Rumania*

(i) *Greater Rumania*

There were four distinct settlement areas of German colonists in Greater Rumania. Those in the Bukovina (Buchenland) numbered 76,000, according to the Rumanian census of 1930.* First settling in 1775, they included miners, lumberjacks, agricultural workers and townsfolk round Cernauti and Radauti. In 1918, they formed a *Deutsche Volksrat* (German People's Council) and a *Kulturverein*, the latter trying to maintain such German institutions as they were allowed. The second centre was in Bessarabia where, in addition to other nationalities, colonists from south-western Germany were settled by the Tsar between 1814 and 1842. Their descendants, numbering some 81,000 in 1930, lived mainly round Tarutino, in the south-western corner of Bessarabia. About 13,000 were scattered over the central Dobruja. Mainly farmers, they were descendants of Bessarabian Germans who immigrated during the middle of the last century. A fourth very small group of about 10,000 lived in the north-western corner of Rumania, in the district of Satu Mare (Satmar).

In the Rumanian Banat the proportionate distribution of the national groups was the same as in the Serb Banat, *i.e.*, the German colonists constituted about one quarter of the population, and were half the size of the largest racial group. In 1930, the distribution was as follows :—

Rumanians ...	511,000	
"Swabians"...	223,000	Total : 940,000.
Magyars ...	98,000	Size : 18,715 sq. km.
Others ...	108,000	

In 100 parishes the Swabians have an absolute majority, and in sixty others are the largest national group. They are Roman Catholics, and mostly peasant farmers. After much bargaining between the moderate and the extremist nationalist party, the two combined in 1923, and set up a *Volksrat der Deutsch-Schwäbischen Volksgemeinschaft* (People's Council of the German-Swabian People's Community). It had its own unofficial parliament, and was fairly successful in securing the rights granted by the minority treaties.

Transylvania is a much larger region than the Banat, with three national groups, the Rumanians numbering 1,853,000, the Hungarians 935,000, and the Germans (Saxons) 253,000, according to the much disputed Rumanian census of 1930. The German immigration began as far back as A.D. 1150. The term *Siebenbürger Sachsen*, as the Germans of Transylvania call themselves, is misleading in so far as the original immigrants came from the valley of the river Moselle and from Luxembourg. The centres of their settlements lie in the south-western part of the high plain, surrounded by the Carpathians, with the towns of Brasov (Kronstadt), Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and Cluj (Klausenburg). They are Lutherans, and mostly artisans and merchants. The closed area of the extensive Magyar settlement (*Szeklers*) is situated in the north-eastern part of the region. In the nationality struggle the Saxons often joined with the Rumanians against the Magyars, who claimed domination of the whole region. Their cultural life centred in Sibiu, where they also had a *Volksrat* which acted as their representative to the government authorities. All Germans in Greater Rumania (totalling 745,000 in 1930) were combined in the *Verband der Deutschen in Grossrumänien*. It controlled the parliamentary party, the *Deutsche Partei*, and represented the common interests of the different People's Councils, which carried out the actual educational and social work in the various widely-scattered groups. When in 1930 the government of Jorga set up a Ministry of Minorities, a member of the German national group, Dr. Rudolf Brandsch, was placed at its head.

A small new group, calling itself *Nationalsozialistische Selbsthilfebewegung* (National Socialist Self-Help Movement), was founded under the leadership of a certain Captain Fritz Fabritius, "assisted by 500 hardened warriors" in the usual "battles of the assembly halls" (*Saalschlachten*). This movement gained ground in the different regional groups with amazing swiftness, despite stubborn resistance, especially by the Roman Catholic Leaders in the Banat. Dr. Brandsch was ousted as leader, though he too turned out to be a good National Socialist. A "People's Programme" was accepted late in 1933, which contained the essential passage :—

> "We profess the unity of all Germans in the world, together with whom we form one single large people. In unshakable loyalty to our (German) homeland, we acknowledge the constitution of the Rumanian State, at whose disposal we place our strength and our fidelity."

In order to appease dissenting groups, the name of the organisation was changed to *Nationale*

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* The Austrian census of 1910 registered 169,000 Germans, of whom 96,000 were Jews. The Rumanian census records counted Jews as a separate minority.

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Erneuerungsbewegung der Deutschen Rumäniens. Not only the *völkisch,* but also the Christian outlook was said to be the philosophical basis of the movement. After the movement had gained the majority in all People's Councils, it was dissolved by the government in July, 1934, and the old *Verband* was revived, with Fabritius as its leader. In 1935, he set up the *Volksgemeinschaft der Deutschen* as a cover organisation of the *Volksgruppe.* Under the cloak of cultural activities, military formations were trained. From 1935 to 1938, however, there were continuous internecine clashes between different Nazi groups, from which Fabritius emerged victorious after Munich. Thereafter German influence in Rumania increased tremendously. Economic domination became stronger and stronger. Political collaboration with the Iron Guard became very close.* Subsidies for oppositional elements flowed from Germany, where, it was suspected, the assassination of Prime Minister Calinescu in September, 1939, was organised. Infiltration of Reich Germans as "experts" took place long before the actual occupation. In September, 1940, when Rumania's disruption was complete, the land was partitioned at Germany's behest, a dictatorship was established, and Fabritius was dropped. After the entry of German troops a younger man, Andreas Schmidt, formerly *Stabsführer* to Fabritius's short-lived successor and a native of Brasov, born in 1912, was appointed leader of the *Volksgruppe.*

(ii) *The German Volksgruppe after the Partition*

About one-fifth of the German minority was involved in the cessions of territory which Rumania had to make in 1940. The bulk of them lived in the territories ceded to Russia and they, as well as the Germans of Southern Bukovina and the Dobruja, were repatriated to the "Greater German Reich." According to the Rumanian census of 1931, 170,000 people lived in these regions, whereas the Germans claim to have repatriated 214,000 ethnic Germans.† The partition of Transylvania involved only the smaller group of Saxons, those round Cluj, Bistritsa, and, in addition, the group of Sata Maru (Satmar). Hungary thus gained about 66,000 ethnic Germans. In the main, therefore, only the two compact German groups of Transylvania and the Banat were left. German claims for the *Volksgruppe* in Lesser Rumania (August, 1942) comprise:—

250,000 Swabians in the Banat.
200,000 Saxons in Transylvania.
30,000 Saxons scattered between the two areas.
15,000 in Old Rumania, mainly in Bucharest.

The new status of the *Volksgruppe* was fixed in outline in a protocol signed by the Rumanian and German governments on the occasion of the Vienna Award, when Rumania ceded northern Transylvania to Hungary (August 30th, 1940). The protocol was implemented by an agreement signed between Antonescu and Schmidt on October 6th, 1940, and by a decree of November 21st, giving the *Volksgruppe* the status of a public corporation, and authorising it to issue bye-laws for the preservation of its "Germanhood." Its executive organ was the *NSDAP der deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien,* which had been founded on November 9th, in Medias. Schmidt stated that "the national will and the executive power inside the *Volksgruppe* emanates from the *NSDAP der Volksgruppe.*" The *NSDAP* was a complete replica of the Party in Germany, with its familiar para-military formations and affiliated organisations. Membership figures for the beginning of 1943 were claimed to be as follows:—

		Corresponding to
Deutsche Jugend	56,000 (or 90 per cent.)	HJ
Deutsche Mannschaft	25,000	SA
Einsatzstaffel	5,000	SS
Volksdeutsche Arbeiterschaft ..	50,000	DAF
Frauenwerk	80,000	NSF

All members of the ethnic group must take an oath of allegiance, swearing loyalty first to the Leader, Adolf Hitler, and secondly to the "Legionary State of Rumania." The swastika flag was hoisted beside the national flag as a token of this dual allegiance. When Antonescu broke away from the Iron Guard, the Nazi Government, and accordingly the *Volksgruppe* leaders, supported the new policy, and the term "Legionary" contained in the original oath was dropped.

The political organisation of the ethnic group was re-cast with a view to strict centralisation. In March, 1943, the division into four *Gebiete* (regions)* was abolished, and replaced by a single *Volksgruppenführung* (Ethnic Group Leadership), which, from the headquarters at Brasov, exercised direct control over the thirteen *Kreise* and all the *Ortsgruppen.* Education, including those schools which had formerly been run by the Roman Catholic or Evangelical churches, was taken over by the *Volksgruppe.* In February, 1942, they received their own education department within the Ministry of Education in Bucharest, and by the end of 1943 controlled 650 German schools and nurseries attended by a total of 60,000 children and a staff of 1,750 teachers.

The activities of the *Volksgruppe* Research Institute in Sibiu show the way in which education on the higher level is conducted by the authorities of the ethnic groups. The Institute has sections for German literature, folklore, pre-historic research, racial science, natural sciences and law, Its publications include such titles as "The Effect of the Nordic Man upon the new settlement areas"; "The transplantation of Nordic blood to other ethnic groups in the settlement area"; and "Formative forces in the history of the South-east from the point of view of Racial Science." The Institute, in addition to its work on a German dictionary, gives practical aid in the restoration of German family and place names, and has taken over numerous museums in the German settlement areas.

The Nuremberg laws were introduced for all members of the ethnic group. The Reich German economic legislation, including that concerning the establishment of hereditary farms, was also adopted. The *Deutsche Wirtschaftsstelle* (Economic Department) of the ethnic group claimed that at the beginning of 1943 it controlled 20 industrial, 2,950 trade, and 10,500 commercial concerns, and 65,000 farms were said to be owned by *Volksdeutsche* Rumanian citizens. The group had its own Labour Service, and Schmidt decreed compulsory Youth Service (*Jugenddienstpflicht*) as early as 1940, calling it the *Völkische Dienstjahr,* whereby from 1942 onwards all boys and girls over the age of ten were liable for service.

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* Schmidt, in a broadcast on October 23rd, 1940, referred to the intimate ties that had for a long time existed between the Iron Guard and "the young generation of the *Volksgruppe.*"

† See Chapter III, C, Table A, p. 66.

* Banat, Siebenbürgen (Transylvania), Bergland (mountainous region between Banat and Siebenbürgen) and "Alt-Rumänien."

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As in other groups, a special tax called *Volkssteuer* was imposed on all those declared to be members. The Lutheran Church of Transylvania was *gleichgeschaltet* (though not without resistance), its new bishop, Wilhelm Staedel and its official organ, "*Kirchliche Blätter der evangelischen Landeskirche in Rumänien*" actively supported the Party programme. An all-out drive for recruits for the German Armed-SS started in May, 1943. At the beginning of 1944, Schmidt declared that 43,000 had been enrolled during the year, whilst a further 10,000 had already joined the German army and a further 14,000 were serving with the Rumanian forces.

From the end of 1941 to the beginning of 1944, the ethnic Germans of "Transnistria" were under Schmidt's control, where the VDA was busily founding German schools (said to have numbered 200, with 20,000 children, in 229 parishes, 120 of which had a German majority). Odessa had its own German House, and a special chair for German literature was founded at the university as late as the autumn of 1943.

The enormous privileges granted to the German minority, and the way they exploited them, led to considerable friction with the Rumanian population. In March, 1943, a Rumanian paper published an article which expressed the view that the war might have been an opportunity to achieve spiritual union "had the ethnical minorities not evaded the common sufferings by an abusive interpretation of the regulations," adding, "Stop the provocations, stop them in your own interest." As Brasov was expressly mentioned as the seat of the "organised egoism of our minority friends," there could be no doubt about the target of this attack. The *Volksgruppe* took up the challenge, and intensified the bad feeling by declaring that the term "minority" could not be applied to the German ethnic group, as it had been raised out of the rank of the minorities.[*] There were also, however, many signs that the behaviour of the *Volksgruppe* leaders had not brought about the desired unity within the ranks of the ethnic group itself. The opposition was branded as cherishing "clerical, liberal or reactionary ideas." Retired high church dignitaries, as well as university professors and school teachers, were violently attacked. Their past, it was said, was besmirched by the fact that they had based their former policy on the minority treaties, and sought justice at Geneva. Andreas Schmidt disclosed and castigated the existence of such an opposition to his policy in an article appearing in the "*Südostdeutsche Tageszeitung*," published in Timisora (Banat), on September 6th, 1943, stating :—

> "Do we not know that this group of reactionaries has started a political action, the lead having been given by a gentleman who holds a university chair (Dr. Fritz Connerth), and who recommended that they should march with the enemy, so that in the event of Germany's defeat they might take over the leadership of the *Volksgruppe* in a secure future? Do we not know that these persons share the views of a former parliamentarian, who said that the Reich's participation in our affairs signified the passing of our interests under foreign control?"

Schmidt added the usual threats that once victory was achieved, "the hour of reckoning would come," thus admitting even at that early date that he was powerless to proceed against them.

In Brasov, on May 30th, 1944, Schmidt was decorated by Lorenz on the "Führer's" behalf with the *Ehrenzeichen für deutsche Volkspflege erster Stufe*, for his "exemplary leadership of the ethnic group in the struggle for the freedom of the German people." Reports of Rumanian action against citizens of German origin in their midst after the change of régime are not yet to hand. That violent measures were taken can be gathered from a German broadcast in Rumanian of September 2nd, 1944. It promised "pitiless vengeance to be meted out to whoever dares to lay hands on the peaceful citizens of the country, whether of German or Rumanian origin. . . . German revenge will be terrible, and will reach every culprit. It is nearer than you think."

On September 24th, 1944, Transozean reported that the German C.-in-C. General Friessner had evacuated the 250,000 Swabians of the Rumanian Banat from the fighting zone.

4. *The German Minorities in Hungary*

(i) *Trianon Hungary*

The exact location and size of the German minority in Hungary is extremely difficult to assess. Not so much because Hungarian and German claims differ more than anywhere else in south-eastern Europe, but because Hungarians of German origin have shown themselves the most adaptable of all European minorities. The old German urban population was almost completely magyarised during the nineteenth century. A considerable amount of the rural population underwent the same process, owing to the fact that the "Swabian" farmers transfer their farms undivided to the elder son only, the other sons usually taking jobs in towns, where they became magyarised. Thus the population of Trianon Hungary which entered itself as German-speaking consisted mainly of peasants. Their urban relatives described themselves as Magyar, and had often assumed Magyar names.

In Trianon Hungary, 551,000 nationals, or 6·9 per cent. of the population, gave German as their mother tongue in 1921. This figure had declined to 479,000, or 5·5 per cent., by 1930, according to the Hungarian census, whereas German claims were as high as 700,000. The main settlements were situated along the north-western frontier round the disputed town of Sopron (Ödenburg), where the Germans claim 75,000. A further 150,000 were said to be settled west of the capital as farmers ; 70,000 in Budapest itself,[*] and 90,000 in the forest of Bakony, north of Lake Balaton. The largest settlement is in the neighbourhood of, but does not include, the town of Pecs (Fünfkirchen). The local Germans call this region the *Schwäbische Türkei* (Trans-Danubia), which, the Germans claim, has some 230,000 *Volksdeutsche*. According to the Hungarian census, another 30,000 lived beyond the Danube in that part of the Bačka which remained with Hungary in 1919.[†] The history of the Germans in southern Hungary is the same as that of the Germans in the Bačka and the Banat, *i.e.*, they were descendants of farmers from south-western Germany who were invited by the Austrian Emperors in the eighteenth century to cultivate the lands devastated by the Turkish wars.

A strong movement developed after the First World War to instil the Germans in Hungary with a new consciousness of their origin. The moving spirit was Jacob Bleyer, a university professor in Budapest, who had helped to overthrow the

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[*] "*Curentul*," March 15th, 1943 ; reply in "*Bukarester Tageblatt*" of April 17th.

[*] Hungarian census of 1880, 98,000 ; 1920, 60,000 ; 1941, 23,000.

[†] For location, see map, Distribution of Languages in Central Europe, Part I, facing p. 23.

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Social Democrat régime in 1919, and was Minister of Nationalities from 1920 to 1922. He founded the *Ungarländisch-deutschen Volksbildungsverein* (UDV) in 1923. The Hungarian government only reluctantly permitted its existence, and strictly limited its activities to the cultural sphere. The new minorities education bill of 1923 gave the Germans forty-three schools, where all subjects were taught in German, and 370 schools where only the main subjects were taught in German. Bleyer died in December, 1933, having directed the affairs of the UDV and those of the German minority in a spirit of Hungarian patriotism, uninfluenced by outside pressure. His successors in the *Verein* carried on with his work. However, Bleyer's death and the new situation in Germany were the signal for bitter struggles within the German minority. Dr. Franz Basch (born in the Banat in 1901), formerly Bleyer's secretary, united the National Socialists in a ***Kameradschaft.*** Minister Gratz and the Roman Catholic forces, drawing their strength from the *Schwäbische Türkei,* strongly opposed the nazification of the German minority, and purged the UDV of all extremist elements in 1935. Basch, on the other hand, founded a *Deutsche Volksbund* in 1938, which, although professing loyalty to Hungary, accepted money for " cultural purposes " from Germany. Absorbing Hitler's racial theories, it plunged the German minority into a conflict of loyalties. The growing *rapprochement* between Germany and Hungary after the Austrian annexation gave Basch's group the upper hand. The Hungarian government officially placed the *Volksbund* on equal terms with the UDV, which rapidly lost influence. With the second Vienna Award, which gave northern Transylvania to Hungary, the *Volksbund* became the only recognised representation of the German minority in the enlarged Hungary.

(ii) *The German Volksgruppe in Satellite Hungary*

Hungary replaced Rumania in 1941 as the country containing the largest German minority in Europe. With the inclusion of the new territories, it had, according to figures published in 1942*, some 866,000 German citizens or 5·9 per cent. of the total population. German *Volksgruppe* leaders, however, claimed that there were 1,250,000 people of German origin, including all those who had become magyarised during the last 100 years.†

The majority of the new citizens of German origin were to be found in the Bačka and Baranja, annexed from Yugoslavia in 1941, where there were 175,000 Germans, according to the Hungarian census, 192,000 according to the Yugoslav census, and 250,000 according to the *Volksgruppe* claims. They form, together with those in the adjacent *Schwäbische Türkei,* a fairly solid block of about half a million, who are more conscious of their origin and less open to voluntary magyarisation than the Germans of central and western Hungary. Regarding the districts of Bistrita and Satu Maru in ceded Northern Transylvania, the Rumanian census of 1930 reported 69,000 German-speaking people ; the Hungarian census of 1941 listed only 40,000. *Volksgruppe* claims go as high as 90,000. The districts annexed from Czechoslovakia in 1938 contained only 22,000 Germans, according to the Czech census of 1930.

The status of the *Volksgruppe* was fixed on the occasion of the second Vienna award. According to the agreement between the German and Hungarian governments, the *Deutsche Volksbund,* with Dr. Basch as leader, was recognised as the sole representation of the German minority. The former leaders of the UDV, whose policy had met with the approval of the Hungarian government, were eliminated from political life. Membership of the *Volksgruppe* could be acquired by individual declaration, but needed the consent of the *Volksgruppe* leader to become effective. The group was permitted to adopt the Nazi creed, with the guarantee that this would not be to its disadvantage. In return, the *Volksgruppe* professed to be loyal to the Hungarian State. They were entitled to a proportionate share in public administration, and German officials were to be used in regions settled by Germans, and in the central offices dealing with these regions. Children were to be given the opportunity of attending German schools, and a sufficiency of good teachers was to be trained for these schools. Only those restrictions imposed on the rest of the press were to be applied to the German press. No measures aiming at magyarisation were to be taken, and the members of the *Volksgruppe* would have the right of free cultural exchange with Nazi Germany.

It will be observed that this agreement was worded much more vaguely than corresponding ones concluded with other satellite States, and that certain privileges which ethnic groups secured elsewhere were omitted. For instance, the ethnic group did not receive the status of a corporation, nor was its leader entitled to issue decrees on his own authority, nor impose special taxes. The Hungarian government kept a jealous watch for para-military formations that might be formed by the ethnic group in the guise of sports clubs. Pre-military training was undertaken in German detachments of the *Levente,* the all-Hungarian youth organisation. On the other hand, concessions had to be made which up to 1940 the government had tried to avoid. For example, the creation of a special German youth organisation, the improvement of facilities for German schools, including the training of German teachers, and the opening of secondary schools with an exclusively German curriculum for members of the ethnic groups.*

The organisation of the *Volksgruppe* is directed from the German House in Budapest where the central offices of the *Deutsche Volksbund in Ungarn* are accommodated. Basch, the leader, has a deputy, Dr. Georg Goldschmidt, who is also editor-in-chief of the "*Deutsche Zeitung*" in Budapest. The *Stabsführer* is Sepp Schönborn. Offices include the *Landesschatzmeister* (treasurer) and the *Schulungsleiter* (ideological training). German youth is organised in the *Deutsche Jugend,* which claimed 80,000 members in 1943, and is headed *Landesjugendführer* Matthias Huber. German farmers are led by a *Landesbauernführer* (Fritz Metzger), who appoints the 565 local peasant leaders. The chief welfare organisation is the *Deutsche Volkshilfe* (president, Dr. Adam Schlitt), with its own Labour Service, Winter Help Work, advice bureaux, public health organisation and adult education service. The whole country is sub-divided into 6 *Gebiete* and about 600 *Ortsgruppen* and *Stützpunkte*. Several thousand *Amtswalter* were installed on the Reich German model. In 1942 seven German members were admitted to parliament—two for Trianon Hungary, three for Bačka, and one each for the Satu Maru district and

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* " *Pesti Hirlap,*" of September 3rd, 1942.

† Hungarian census of 1941 gives 720,000, or 4·9 per cent. of the population as German-speaking people, but only 533,000, or 3·6 per cent., of the population were listed as professing " German nationality," *i.e.*, belonging to the German minority. The balance claimed " Magyar nationality."

* The German secondary school in Budapest was allowed to admit only Reich German citizens.

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Transylvania. They had to join one of the established parties at the government's request. Basch soon declared, however, that they had to act as spokesmen of the German people, which in this case meant by his orders.

In spite of this elaborate organisation, frequent complaints were made by Basch and his subleaders that the government had not by any means fulfilled the expectations which had been aroused by the agreement of 1940. The school situation, especially, was considered unsatisfactory. At the beginning of 1944, the German minority ran six secondary, nine intermediate, seventy elementary and three vocational schools, thirty-one crèches and two teachers' training colleges. Only 6,600 children were taught by 150 German teachers in the elementary schools. The bulk of the *Volksgruppe* schools were in the annexed territories. Yet the complaints that 600 municipalities with a German majority (mostly in Trianon Hungary)* were still without purely German schools ; that 90 per cent. of all teachers in German communities did not express the proper ideology ; that a thousand more German teachers and the same number of nurses were still wanted, were deceptive, as Trianon Hungary continued to work under the educational law of 1923 (see above, 4 (i)), and the *Volksgruppe* did not mention that by this law the parents' wishes were the decisive factor.

There is no doubt that up to March, 1944, the Hungarian government did everything it could to restrain the activities of the *Volksgruppe*. Debates in parliament frequently showed open hostility to the leaders of the German minority, and the suggestion made in 1942 that all the Danubian Swabians should be re-settled in Germany, according to Hitler's own professed policy, roused to fury all but one of the newspapers printed in German. Local authorities forbade the hoisting of the swastika flag beside the national colours, and similar incidents served to show that considerable friction prevailed between the ethnic group and the Hungarian population.

On the whole, the position of the *Volksgruppe* in Hungary has been weaker than in any other European country, due mainly to the fact that the majority of the German national group refused to join its organised ranks. Although strong pressure has been put on the population, Basch could only report a rise in membership of 7,800 for the whole of 1942, and it can be inferred from his statement that no more than a sixth of the German community has been inscribed as active members. At the same time, opposition from inside the German community has been frequent. This was especially stressed by the German language paper "*Die Donau*," which until April, 1944, was published in Apatin (Bačka). This paper not only supported the idea of repatriating all dissatisfied Nazis, but also stated that the "*deutsch-völkische Weltanschauung*" was the basic cause for all the evils prevailing in the German ethnic group (November, 1942). The "*Deutsche Zeitung*," Budapest, disclosed in May, 1943, that many miners, factory workers and employees still belonged to the all-Hungarian trade unions, declaring they "belong to us," and asking the government to support the *Volksgruppe* in bringing about a "unity of all the working *Volksdeutsche*." Opposition was also strong against the violent recruitment drives for the Armed SS. Results have never satisfied the official leaders, and in this case the government made their task no easier by depriving every volunteer of his Hungarian nationality.

It is therefore not surprising that Basch was suspected of having worked for the occupation of Hungary by German troops, and of having been instrumental in the moves which led to the change of régime that occurred in March, 1944. The frequent visits which Lorenz paid to the *Volksgruppe* in the early spring appeared to support this suspicion. After the occupation, Basch's position was clearly strengthened, although he did not play a leading part in the government as was expected. An agreement with the German government introduced compulsory service for the Armed-SS of all *Volksgruppe* members between seventeen and sixty-two, and the decree withdrawing Hungarian nationality was annulled for the 40,000 volunteers who had already joined. The *Volksgruppe* was allowed to have its own sports organisation, supervised by a newly-created *Amt für Leibesübungen*, which became the cover for a para-military organisation. The dissenting paper, "*Die Donau*," was suspended, and the dissolution of all Trade Unions silenced the opposition of German workers within the German community. At Basch's request, the seven members of parliament formed a "bloc of German National Socialists," under the leadership of Franz Hamm, in May, 1944. When, on the occasion of Hitler's birthday twenty thousand *Volksgenossen* demonstrated in Bonyhad, it was noted with satisfaction that "for the first time for many years the Hungarian press covered an occasion of the *Volksgruppe*," and that some papers "even dealt with it approvingly."

5. *The German Minority in Danish South Jutland*

(i) *The German Minority from 1920 to 1933*

By the Peace Treaty of Prague, concluded between Prussia and Austria in 1866, Austria surrendered her rights to the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia, with the reservation that the population of northern Schleswig should decide by plebiscite whether or not they wished to be re-united with Denmark (Article V). The plebiscite was never held.*

Articles 109–114 of the Versailles Treaty made provision for the holding of such a plebiscite, and two zones (a northern and a southern) were marked out where the populations were to decide their fate, under the supervision of an international commission. The results of the plebiscites, held on February 10th and March 14th, 1920, respectively, were as follows :—

Zone	Votes for		Total
	Denmark	Germany	
North ..	75,431 (74·9 per cent.)	25,329 (25·1 per cent.)	100,760
South† ..	12,859 (19·9 per cent.)	51,724 (80·1 per cent.)	64,583
	88,290	77,053	165,343

† Comprising the islands of Sylt, Föhr, Amrum, and the present-day *Landkreise* of Süd-Tondern and Flensburg.

According to this result, the northern zone, with an area of 3,993 sq. km. and 163,000 inhabitants in 1921 (188,000 in 1940), was allocated to Denmark. This zone was known as South Jutland, and was sub-divided into the three *Amter* (counties) of Tönder, Haderslev and Aabenraa-Sönderborg.‡

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* In 1942 the figure of 800 was issued ("*Donauzeitung*," Belgrade, August 8th).

* The clause was formally abolished in an agreement between Germany and Austria in 1878.

‡ The extent of the region and of the counties is marked on Map I of Part II ; it included the islands Als (Alsen) in the Baltic Sea and Römö in the North Sea.

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The decision of the ambassador's conference inevitably left minorities on each side of the new frontiers. The German census of 1925 registered about 6,000 Danish-speaking people in South Schleswig, less than half of the number who had voted for Denmark, and there are about fifteen villages well inside the German border where the Danes are in the majority.* On the other hand, in the towns of Tönder (Tondern), Aabenra (Apenrade), Sönderborg and Haderslev (Hadersleben), on the Danish side of the frontier, there is a considerable number of Germans, and about thirty villages were said to have had a German majority. The minority figure issued by the Germans after the last war was in the region of 40,000. The VDA raised this figure to 50,000 after 1933, and in 1942 a strange list was compiled, in which only those 34,000 inhabitants of South Jutland who had been born north of the river Kongeaa (the old Imperial frontier) were considered as Danes. As the same report claimed that over 17,000 Germans had emigrated from South Jutland to Germany since 1920, the Danish census of 1935, according to which the German minority was between 28,000 and 30,000 strong, cannot possibly be questioned. The Danes stated that only one-third of the minority was German-speaking, the rest speaking the local Danish dialect.

Although Denmark was not bound by any minority treaty, she gave the German community freedom of cultural development, expression of public opinion, share in self-administration, and the right of political organisation to an extent hardly to be found anywhere else in Europe.† No serious incidents occurred between 1920 and 1933, a fact that showed that relations between the two elements of the population were on the whole harmonious.

Yet, since 1920, certain groups within the minority, and more particularly nationalist organisations within the Reich, have notified the world in general that there was a large oppressed German minority in Denmark which constituted a serious "problem." The main reason for this agitation was that the German Republican government refused to recognise the new frontier. Consequently, it allowed an irridentist movement to develop in the Schleswig-Holstein province with the aim of regaining the lost territory. In succession to the *Nordmarkenverein* (founded in 1890 for the strengthening of Germanhood in North Schleswig), the *Schleswig Holsteiner Bund* was founded in 1919, with headquarters in Flensburg, and continually agitated for a frontier revision. It published a monthly magazine, "*Der Schleswig Holsteiner, Grenzlanddeutsche Monatshefte für Politik und Kultur.*" The University of Kiel disseminated propaganda stressing the cultural ties between the lost region and the province. The *Deutscher Schulverein für Nordschleswig,* an autonomous branch of the VDA, was a medium for extending the sphere of German influence in South Jutland. Closely connected with this organisation was the *Jugendspende Nordschleswig* (Young People's Fund for North Schleswig), which encouraged school children in the German province to contribute funds for German schools in South Jutland.

The German minority was led by Pastor Johannes Carl Schmidt (Wodder). The revisionists held most of the posts in the leadership without, however, the mass of the German minority taking much interest in their activities. Among the eighty different organisations, the most potent economic institution of the minority was the *Kreditanstalt Vogelgesang,* a mortgage bank founded in Haderslev in 1926, for the purpose of buying up as much Danish-owned land as possible, over-bidding the Danish State Commissions. With good financial backing Vogelgesang, a German solicitor, spent vast sums not only on land purchases for future German settlers, but also in issuing loans to farmers of avowed pro-German leanings, whether of German or Danish origin.

(ii) *The German Minority from* 1933 *up to the Occupation,* 1940

The advent of National Socialism in Germany immediately changed the situation inside the Danish border and beyond. The revisionists of Flensburg and Kiel opened a new and much more violent campaign against the Danes of South Jutland and the Danish State. The German organisations mentioned above were taken over or controlled by the Nazi Party, *e.g.*, the *Schleswig Holsteiner Bund* was absorbed by the VDA, and became the *Landesgruppe Schleswig Holstein.* The actual control of the activities of the minority itself was in the hands of the *Oberpräsident* and *Gauleiter* of Schleswig-Holstein, Hinrich Lohse. Mayor Sievers of Flensburg, who was also President of the *Bund,* appointed four different *Landesführer* for South Jutland in succession. All proved unsatisfactory instruments for the nazification of the province, in which several Nazi parties struggled for the domination of the minority. The *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche-Arbeiter-Partei Nordschleswigs* (NSDAPN) opposed the *Slesvigske Parti,* which had existed since 1920, usually returning one member to the *Folketing* (Lower House), and gained 12,621 votes, or 15·5 per cent. of the total number cast in the region in 1935. Its leader, Jens Möller, a veterinary surgeon, became leader of the ethnic group with the title *Hoheitsträger für den gesamten Lebensbereich der Volksgruppe.* However, he had to contend with a second Nazi Party under Jep Nissen, a former *Landesführer,* until he was able to break all opposition in 1938. In the new elections his party increased its poll to over 15,000 (15·9 per cent.), a figure which showed that some opposition must still have survived. Möller now replaced Pastor Schmidt as member of the Danish Lower House. Möller has been a member of the German *Reichstag* since April, 1939.

(iii) *The Volksgruppe since the Occupation of Denmark*

There was great disappointment among the Nazis inside the *Volksgruppe* and the agitators beyond the border that re-annexation of the lost territory was not immediately proclaimed after the occupation, as in the case of *Memelland* a year before, and of Eupen-Malmédy two months later. Instead, it has been German policy officially to maintain the position of the minority towards the Reich and towards the Danish government as before. This policy was not changed in spite of the numerous references by the VDA and others to the "open sore" of the German minorities in Europe, including South Jutland. With regard to Danish internal policy, the leaders of the minority broke with the Danish Nazi Party in 1941, and have never since made any attempt officially to co-operate with them.

This policy has not, however, precluded the exploitation of the German minority for the German war effort, and the building up of a most elaborate organisation which was used as an instrument of pressure against the Danish government,

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* The Danish minority in Imperial Germany numbered about 150,000.

† For details see Denmark, Basic Handbook, Part I, Chapter VI (pp. 35 ff).

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and of strengthening German influence in the country.

The *Volksgruppe* had its headquarters in Aabenraa, where the *Volksgruppenamt*, set up on July 1st, 1941, is situated, its head being the deputy leader, P. Petersen, a bank manager. Its *Organisationsamt* deals with all Party matters, controls the five Party districts (*Kreise*), and eighty local branches with their 700 local leaders, and the affiliated Party organisations, of which there existed no less than seventy-three in 1943. The most important of them were :—

Bund für Deutsche Kultur (League of German Culture).

Bund für Leibesübungen (League of Physical Training).

Deutsche Jungenschaft, Deutsche Mädchenschaft (Youth organisations on the lines of the Hitler Youth).

NS-Frauenschaft Nordschleswigs (women's organisation).

Schleswigsche Kameradschaften (SK).

The last carry out extensive military training under their leader, the German officer, Lieut. P. Larsen, including weapon training, and have a special shock troop, the *Bereitschafts-SK*, formed on the lines of the SS. On February 16th, 1944, the formation of a *Sicherheitsabteilung* (Security Corps) was ordered by Möller " to protect the lives and the property " of the minority. They wear black uniform.

There are, further, all the usual *Ämter* controlling various activities, such as the *Sportamt, Amt für Gesundheitswesen* (public health), *Amt für Presse und Propaganda, Schulamt* and *Kulturamt*, the last two supervising the whole field of education, while the *Schatzamt* (Treasury) controls financial affairs. The *Amt für Agrarpolitik* is concerned with agricultural policy and controls the *Landesbauernschaft*, divided into 178 local peasant offices. All German non-agricultural trades are organised in the *Deutsche Berufsgruppen Nordschleswigs*, a dependant of the German Labour Front, with sub-divisions for merchants (1,380 members), artisans (2,330 members), and workers (no membership figures have been published). The headquarters of this organisation are in Sönderburg. It has also its own labour exchange for the direction of man power and for social relief, and an extensive supply organisation (*Liefergemeinschaft*) to which 400 industrial and trade concerns belong, and which exercises its own price control. Instructions have been issued that purchases should not be made from pro-Danish firms.

The motto guiding the activities of the *Volksgruppenamt* was framed by Petersen, and ran : " Service to the German People " ; and Möller exhorted the members of the youth organisations to work on the principle : " To be a German is to be a soldier." There has never been the slightest indication in the declarations of the leaders that any loyalty is owed to the Danish State. " The farmer has to know that his work is service to the food economy of our people, and beyond that to the European continent," said Möller in May, 1943, and continued : " Our trade establishments have to work for the demands of war economy without reservation, and our workers are no longer private persons, but members of the battling German community obliged to do war service."

The process of drafting into the German war machine was described at the end of 1942, and did not actually reveal very striking results. Between 4,000 and 5,000 men and women did work south of the border and " immediately behind the front." One thousand worked for the German Armed Forces in Denmark ; 1,393 young people had joined the Armed-SS, a figure that was said to have risen to 2,000 by mid-1943, 160 of whom had been killed. The SK, although having forty branches in the country, had less than 2,000 members, some 400 of whom were serving in the German Armed Forces. The youth organisations had 1,400 members in sixty local sections. Meanwhile the activities of the *Kreditanstalt Vogelgesang* continued, with still more Reich-German subventions, buying up land and granting loans without interest. A welfare organisation, the *Deutsche Selbsthilfe* (Self-Help), founded in 1935, had seventy-five local branches in South Jutland in 1943, granting small loans to allegedly needy Germans, whether party members or not, and bought up sixteen premises which served as social centres (so-called *Deutsche Häuser*).

The German daily newspaper of the region is the " *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung*," in Aabenraa, founded in 1928, when it combined the four dailies then existing. It became the official party paper in 1935 (with a circulation of 4,880 in 1939), and was adorned with the swastika emblem and the motto : *Für Ehre, Freiheit und Brot* (For Honour, Freedom and Bread). In August, 1943, both the emblem and the motto were dropped, and the paper assumed the sub-title : " *Organ der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Nordschleswig*." It was expressly stated that this did not imply a change of policy, as the swastika had become superfluous " after the whole *Volksgruppe* had become National Socialist." The periodical " *Skagerrak* " was founded in October, 1942, for Reich Germans resident in Denmark, and the periodical " *Das deutsche Echo* " is issued by the *Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institut* in Copenhagen, one of several cultural institutions set up in Denmark outside the minority region since the occupation.

In the educational field, too, no striking progress has been made since 1940 owing to the fact that the widest facilities had been given by the Danish State since 1920. While, in 1934, 2,659 children in South Jutland were educated in German schools, this figure had risen to 3,626 in May, 1940, and to 4,086 in May, 1942. Although many new schools and kindergartens were built for the Germans (their private schools with State grants rose from thirty-six to fifty-eight), there were not enough pupils to fill them, in spite of increasing pressure exercised upon Danish parents, particularly among foreign workers in Germany, to send their children to them.

When general elections were held in Denmark in March, 1943, the *Slesvigske Parti* decided to abstain from voting, giving as their official reason that too many of its members were serving abroad. In return, the Danish government had to concede that a special department for German minority affairs should be set up. This was called *Deutsches Kontor zur Wahrung der Interessen der Volksgruppe beim dänischen Staatsminister in Kopenhagen.* Rudolf Stehr, of Haderslev, was appointed as the head : he had previously been head of both the Departments for Agriculture and for Press and Propaganda in the *Volksgruppenamt*. No news of the activities of this State Department has come out, but it was announced on the occasion of its establishment that " the Germans of North Schleswig renewed their vow, rendered on the outbreak of war (*sic*), for ever to remain loyal citizens of the country in which they live."

Apart from occasional hints regarding " parasites " who failed to answer the call for service,

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there have been no visible signs of an active opposition to the manifold activities of the *Volksgruppe* leaders. But two divergent tendencies have become apparent since January, 1944: on the one hand, increased activities on the part of the extremist leaders, and on the other hand indications that certain groups have tried to draw closer to the Danish majority in South Jutland. It may be significant that the "*Nordschleswigsche Zeitung*" started to publish a Danish language paper, "*Paa Broen*" ("On the Bridge") in the Spring of 1944.

6. *The Austro-German Minority in South Tyrol*

By the peace treaty of St. Germain, Italy was allocated the southern half of the Austrian crownland of Tyrol, comprising 14,038 sq. km. with 632,000 inhabitants in 1921. As the population of the northern part, from Salorno to the Brenner Pass, was of predominantly Austrian origin, President Wilson suggested that it be retained by the newly founded Austrian Republic. The Treaty of London, however, which in 1915 had assured Italy the Brenner Pass as her future frontier (Article IV), prevailed, and *Deutsch-Südtirol* (*Alto Adige*)* with 225,000 Tyrolese became part of the new Italian *compartimento* of *Venezia Tridentina*. Since 1927, this has comprised the two provinces of Bolzano and Trento, the former exactly coinciding with the Austro-Italian language frontier. (See map 3, facing p. 13.)

It can be justly said that no German-speaking minority in Europe has been so badly treated during the post-1918 period as the South Tyrolese, despite the assurances given at the Peace Conference and in parliament by the Italian Government, which was not subject to any minority treaty. Up to the advent of Fascism the situation was fairly good. The South Tyrolese had their cultural autonomy as far as education and language were concerned. Four Tyrolese deputies were delegated to the Lower Chamber and only the fact that *Alto Adige* was combined with Trento for administrative purposes aroused misgivings, but there were vague promises for political autonomy of the northern region. Many clashes occurred from 1921 onwards between the South Tyrolese and Fascist groups, which came to a head when the Fascists stormed the town hall of Bolzano (Bozen) on October 22nd, 1922, and evicted Mayor Perathoner who had been in office for twenty-eight years. Declaring that the South Tyrolese were not a national minority, but an ethnographical relic, Mussolini from the outset pursued a policy of extreme italianisation. The official language in the courts and elsewhere became Italian, names and places were italianised. Gentile's educational reform of 1924 introduced Italian as the language for instruction in all types of schools, and suppressed German private schools. Only religious instruction could be given in German in special classes run by the church. No *Volksdeutsch* organisation or association has existed in the province since 1926, when the three German political parties and the all-embracing though indeed irredentist *Deutsche Verband* (German League) were dissolved.† The only concession which Mussolini made, was the division of the *compartimento* into two provinces in 1927, although the administration of education remained in Trento. The northern province, now named *Bolzano*, was, however, completely administered by Italians and only the Bishop of Bressanone (*Brixen*) was a Tyrolese. On September 1st, 1943, out of ninety-two *podestas* (mayors), only six were apparently of Tyrolese origin and the only non-Italian dignitaries in the communes were the Roman Catholic parish priests.

This state of affairs was in no way altered by the emergence of the Nazi régime in Germany. On the contrary, the Italian Government began to send large numbers of industrial workers into the province of Bolzano and embarked on a policy of industrialisation. No reliable figures regarding the number of Italian immigrants are available, but in 1939 the town of Bolzano (*Bozen*) was officially said to have 49,000 Italian-speaking inhabitants out of a total population of 62,000. The new German Government was relatively unpopular, particularly as the hopes of a re-union with the German community raised by secret Nazi propaganda, directly contradicted the official policy pronounced by Hitler and his foreign policy experts. Hitler's admiration for, and his attachment to, Fascism was so great that it resulted in some of his most amazing statements in "*Mein Kampf.*" Following a maze of strange and confusing arguments and with a flood of invective, he declared that a policy of alliance with Italy was more important than the recovery of South Tyrol. These statements were published in 1927.* Consequently, the existence of a "South Tyrolese problem" was completely omitted from the list of grievances produced by Nazi foreign policy between 1933 and 1943. For Italy, an independent Austria or rather an Austria dependent on her, was a vital factor for the retention of the Brenner frontier. Therefore, when the first attempt on Austria was made in 1934, a crisis in Germano-Italian relations had to be overcome. When Mussolini had been out-manœuvred and the *Anschluss* had taken place, the first indirect references were made to South Tyrol. Hitler's letter to Mussolini of March 11th, 1938, informing the Duce of his decision to march into Austria, contained the phrase:—

> "I have drawn a definite frontier with France, and now I draw one equally definite with Italy. It is the Brenner. This decision will never be questioned nor altered."

Again, during his visit to Rome in May, 1938, he declared:—

> "It is my unalterable will and my bequest to the German people that it shall regard the frontier of the Alps, raised by nature between us both, for ever inviolable."

However, that was not the end of the story. Once Hitler had decided on the "repatriation" of *Volksdeutsche* after the victorious Polish campaign, its application to the southern border problem seemed to provide a solution. On October 21st, 1939, an agreement between the two governments was concluded which envisaged the transfer of the German minority in Italy to the Reich. This process was not only to involve the Tyrolese majority of the *Bolzano*, but also German-speaking splinter groups to be found in the provinces of Trento, Belluno and Udine. In the last,

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* In Austria the Trento was called *Welsch-Südtirol*.

† See the impassioned account by Dr. Eduard Reut-Nicolussi, "Tyrol under the Axe of Italian Fascism," London, Allen & Unwin, 1930 (German ed. Munich, 1928). The author, one of the leaders of the South Tyrolese fled to Austria in 1927.

* "*Mein Kampf,*" Vol. II, published 1927. 44th ed. 1933, pp. 707–711. On page 520 he wrote: "Our infernal German press succeeded in puffing up the South Tyrol question to an importance which will be catastrophic for the German people in order to incite the world against a man and a system which dared, in one corner of the earth at least, to free themselves from the Jewish-Masonic embrace and oppose a nationalist resistance to this international world poisoning."

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the Austrians of the Val di Canale round Tarvis, a small region which had been ceded to Italy by Austrian Carinthia, in 1919, were affected. The inhabitants were given until midnight of December 31st, 1939, to choose German citizenship and resettlement in the Reich by December 31st, 1942, or to remain Italian citizens in the above-mentioned provinces. It was assumed that those who had not signed any declaration were to be considered as voting in favour of Italy. Heads of families were allowed to vote on behalf of children under age. All Reich German citizens, numbering about 10,000, were to return to the Reich by March 21st, 1940.

Little is known of the actual conditions under which the plebiscite was taken. There is little doubt, however, that Mussolini gladly availed himself of the opportunity to be rid of as many German-speaking people as possible. For, whereas the Italian census of 1921 listed only 196,000 persons with German as their mother tongue in the whole of Venezia Tridentina, 253,000 people were regarded as German-speaking for the purpose of the plebiscite.

Results were published on January 11th, 1940, as shown in the following Table :—

The two governments issued an official communique on August 21st, 1942, stating that owing to conditions arising out of the war, they had agreed *to extend the period for the completion of the* South Tyrolese resettlement by one year, *i.e.*, until December 31st, 1943. In contrast to this pronouncement was a broadcast by Radio Rome of January 31st, 1943, according to which Agostino Podesta, the Italian head of the Italo-German commission for the execution of the resettlement had reported to Mussolini the completion of the task set to him in pursuance of the Italo-German agreement. After this statement, nothing further has been heard of the matter. and South Tyrol was completely omitted from German statements (issued in July, 1944) summarising the final results of all repatriation measures (see above, page 67).

From the evidence available, it must be assumed that 72,000 South Tyrolese were resettled during the period 1940–42 and that a number of Italian families have been sent north to take their place. The majority of the South Tyrolese (*i.e.*, more than 60,000), among them most probably all German-speaking inhabitants of the provinces other than Bolzano, were installed on the other side of the Brenner Pass in Northern Tyrol and Vorarlberg.

Provinces	German-speaking Population	Votes for " return to the Reich "	Votes for remaining Italian	Undeclared
BOLZANO ...	229,500*	166,488 (72·5 per cent.)†	27,712 (12·1 per cent.)	35,300 (15·4 per cent.)
TRENTO ...	24,453	13,015 (53·0 per cent.)	3,802 (16·0 per cent.)	7,636 (31·0 per cent.)
BELLUNO ...	7,429	1,006 (13·5 per cent.)	6,423 (86·5 per cent.)	—
UDINE ...	5,603	4,576 (81·4 per cent.)	337 (6·0 per cent.)	690 (12·3 per cent.)
UNDETERMINED ...	280	280	—	—
TOTAL ...	267,265	185,365 (69·0 per cent.)	38,274 (14·0 per cent.)	43,626 (17·0 per cent.)

* Or 75 per cent. of all inhabitants.

† Or 61 per cent. of all inhabitants.

Although a large majority apparently voted voluntarily for Germany, it has been reported that the plebiscite was carried out according to German instructions. These were said to have followed the principle that a certain section, considered to be important, should remain in the *Alto Adige* and act as a " fifth column." This would explain the comparatively large proportion of people (27 per cent. in Bolzano) who chose to remain.

The actual transfer remains a mystery. At first, official German reports spoke of large repatriations, but later the South Tyrolese transaction petered out completely. Thus it was stated that 65,000 South Tyrolese were actually moved into the Reich during 1940. In 1941 no more than 7,000 emigrated, but no further figures have been issued. The 1942 report of the *Deutsche Umsiedlungsgesellschaft* (see Chapter III, C, page 66, Table A) gives the figure of 219,094 South Tryolese. It was implied that this number had actually been repatriated, though the remark that " the operation of resettling South Tyrolese was now as difficult and troublesome as ever, the Trust having, however, far advanced in this field also," indicated that the figure mentioned meant the number of those on the books. The figure itself, later increased to 237,000, contrasts strangely with the 185,085 who actually opted for Germany.

A certain number were settled in small holdings in the Alpine valleys of Styria. Another group went to Carinthia. According to Yugoslav sources, as many as 2,400 Slovene families have been removed from that *Gau* since March, 1942, to make room for the incoming South Tyrolese *Volksdeutsche*. Small scattered settlements have been founded in German-annexed Slovenia ; in Lorraine, on the farms of expelled Frenchmen ; in Luxembourg, in the homes of deported people, in Central Moravia in the homes of expelled Czechs and in the eastern part of " Reichsgau Sudetenland." The presence of South Tyrolese in the Cracow region (" General Government ") has also been reported.

The economic difficulties involved were immense. The mixed Italo-German commission assessed the compensation to be paid to Germany by Italy at between seven and eight thousand million lire or seventy to eighty million pounds. This involved 244,400 hectares of land (26,000 hectares of which was arable, 3,500 hectares common, 103,000 hectares forest land, 6,000 hectares orchard) ; 40,000 buildings, 2,970 business concerns, 4,600 tradesmen's establishments and the property of 460 members of the liberal professions were to be liquidated. Compensation was also to be paid for 345 out of the existing of 492 hotels,

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110 of the existing 158 boarding houses and 460 of the 600 existing restaurants. The property of those emigrants who had actually left was sold on the open market through the medium of the *Ente Nazionale per le Tre Venezia*, an official Italian organisation. Press reports showed that even this partial emigration was a severe blow to local economy and that it was impossible for the Italian Commissariat for Internal Migration and Colonisation to replace the emigrants with Italians. As a result, the attitude of the Italian government seems to have changed and the joint declaration of August, 1942, appears to have sounded the death knell for the whole scheme.

Nothing is known of the attitude of the South Tyrolese in their new homes, and whether the promises of excellent living conditions in the Reich were fulfilled. There is a possibility that many of the settlers have returned after the entry of German troops into the province of Bolzano in September, 1943, and its *de facto* annexation. Dr. Karl Tienzl, a lawyer from Silandro (Schlanders) who became prefect in December, was one of the leaders of the South Tyrolese after the last war and was elected by them as deputy for the Italian Chamber from 1921 to 1926.

It can be assumed that a change of policy with regard to South Tyrol was decided upon by the Nazis by mid-1942 at the latest. The agreement of 1939 was concluded with the object of securing Italy's entry into the war. When, in 1942, Italy's position had been considerably weakened, it was thought that Italy would have to agree to an exchange of territory after a victorious conclusion of the war. As early as June 18th, 1923, Rosenberg had laid down the Party line with regard to Southern Tyrol: "The Italians have many places more valuable to them than Southern Tyrol. In a more fortunate future power constellation, a mild pressure upon Italy on the part of a revived Germany will lead to a fulfilment of Italian ambition and to the liberation of the South Tyrolese."*

III. Conclusion

The Nazi régime has evolved an entirely new and indeed unique system of minority rights and law, claiming that it has solved all the troubles with which the League of Nations had had to wrestle throughout the period between the two wars. The principle of minority protection was abandoned for the so-called *Volksgruppenrecht* (the law of the ethnic groups). The minority treaties under the auspices of the League aimed primarily at the equality of the individual citizens regardless of origin, race, language or faith, and only secondarily at the protection of any specific national character or culture. Thus, the minorities did not receive collective rights and could not officially act as the guardians of their own interests. The international protection afforded by the minority treaties where they were in force, did not apply to a national minority as such, but to each of its members.

The National Socialist approach to the question has been entirely different. Instead of aiming at the equality of all members of the minorities with other citizens, it aimed at differentiating the political and legal status of each group according to its specific character. Instead of agreeing to the protection of minorities by an international guarantee, it implied that the protection of a minority was the responsibility of the "mother country." Instead of recognising the individual rights of members of the group, it only recognised the group in its entirety. Instead of leaving the question of membership to individual decision, the group determined who shall or shall not be a member.

The greatest fallacy in this new theory is, however, the fact that it is realisable only in the case of minority groups who have the backing of a powerful State able to protect them. In practice it applies to German minorities only, and even then only in those cases where the physical force of the protecting power is so great that it can impose treaties wherein the new system of "law" can be applied. When this occurs, the "treaty" reverses the position within the States concerned, by putting an end to political and administrative unity within every State that has a sizable minority. It makes the "mother people" the arbiter between the State and the minorities living there. It makes "race" take precedence over citizenship. The demand for the full autonomy of the privileged minority group and an equal share in the government, which the Nazi theory claims to be the praiseworthy aim of the new ethnic group law, tends to create a State within a State and exempts the group from the sovereignty of the State. The best example of this is provided by the Bills proposed by Henlein's Sudeten German Party on April 28th, 1937, the first attempt to put the new theory into practice (see below, page 100). This Bill, unacceptable to any State, was only one step removed from the actual withdrawal of the minority from the sovereignty of the State, and by Lord Runciman's acceptance of this last resort the final overthrow of the alternative provided by the League's treaty system was achieved.

The paradoxical situation in large parts of Europe, which has resulted from the Nazi theory of minorities, has been examined in detail in the previous sections. The first principle to be followed was that the theory applied only to German minorities abroad and not to foreign minorities within Germany itself. While "equality" is demanded for the Germans abroad, inhabitants inside Germany who do not fulfil the necessary "racial" qualifications cannot become citizens, even though they may legally possess German nationality, and are classed as *Schutzangehörige* (protected inhabitants). They are the "serving" elements within the State and are only allowed "to share in those tasks of the State which are appropriate to their achievements."*

This theory of racial hierarchy has penetrated to the *Volksgruppenrecht* in exactly the same way as in Germany proper. It has been indirectly applied in occupied countries by giving the resident Germans extraordinary privileges. In Holland, for instance, German law applies in all cases of crimes committed by Germans, former German citizens or citizens of the "Protectorate." Moreover, German penal law applies to anyone who commits a crime against the "Greater German Reich, the German people, the Nazi Party and its formations," against a German citizen, against anyone employed by the Reich or in the service of the German authorities or if the crime is

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* Konrad Heiden, "*Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*," page 114.

* "*Mein Kampf*," page 489. Hitler expounded the theory of a racial hierarchy within the national State which became the basis of the Nazi nationality law as well as of the *Volksgruppenrecht* (Vol. 2, Chapter 3 "*Staatsangehöriger und Staatsbürger*"). The term *Schutzangehöriger* was not introduced until after the annexations and was expressly applied to Poles and Slovenes, to other subject-nations *de facto* (see Chapter III).

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committed in buildings and plants serving the Reich or the Party.

The privileges granted to the German minority in the "Protectorate" have only been touched upon above (page 6), but they are far greater than those granted in Holland and give the minority the status of a dominant majority, while the Czech majority acquired the impotence of a completely unprotected minority.* It can be fairly stated that the exemptions granted to Germans in the "Protectorate" exceed by far the privileges enjoyed by foreigners in the capitulation terms imposed upon the Ottoman Empire and China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The same status was, of course, granted to Germans in the "General Government" and the Eastern Commissariats. However, even here a certain differentiation between the subject peoples was made. The Ukrainians fared better than the Poles in the "General Government," the Croats fared better than the Slovenes in German-annexed Slovenia, the Magyars were treated better than the Rumanians in the Serb Banat, not because of a definite hierarchy within the non-German races, but either merely because of the prevailing power constellation or for the purpose of playing off one minority against the other. For the latter principle the vascillating policy towards Flemings and Walloons in occupied Belgium was a typical example.

According to the theory of racial hierarchy, the *Volksgruppenrecht* as laid down in the *Volksgruppenschutzverträge* (protective treaties of the ethnic groups) created where possible a similar situation in the dependent satellite States. It is interesting to note, however, that the privileges granted to the German minorities corresponded exactly to the power the Nazi State was able to exercise in the countries in question. That is, these treaties were not identical, although they tried to serve the same purpose. The privileges obtained were larger in such "independent" States as Slovakia and Croatia, or in a country under German occupation such as Serbia. They were smaller in countries which were able by some means or other to retain a semblance of independent action, as for instance Rumania and, above all, Hungary, up to March, 1944. Further, as described in Section II, 5, the obstinacy of the Danish people did not make it advisable to press the matter, while no privileges whatsoever were obtained from Italy even after the failure of the repatriation scheme. Thus it was possible for the ethnic groups in all south-eastern States, except Hungary, to become "corporations under public law." Their leaders, having absolute power under the *Führerprinzip*, were able to issue decrees of binding force on everyone declared to be a member of the group, to levy taxes, to have their own system of education and their own economic administration. In one case (Serbia), the ethnic group has its own penal code and disciplinary jurisdiction.

In no case, however, did the new German system imply that "equality" should also be given to minority groups of other than German origin. This fact alone defeats the claim made by German international lawyers to have found a "solution" to the vexatious minority problem. Probably nothing more paradoxical has been pronounced in this respect than the claim made by the German prefect of the Serb Banat that he considered it to be the most "beautiful fruit of his leadership work to have created a new mutual confidence between the different *Volksgruppen*." He issued as proof of this generosity the cryptic statement that "the *Beamtenschaft* (Civil Service) is represented in proportion to the different ethnic groups, and that children are instructed in schools by members of their own ethnic groups."* Quite apart from the fact that these assertions are untrue, a situation arose in that particular region where a minority of just 20 per cent. of the total population ruled not only over the other minorities, the Magyars and the Rumanians, but also over the majority—the Serbs—who were also termed an "ethnic group."

The League of Nations was unable to reach an all-round satisfactory solution as envisaged in the minority treaties. The clumsy machinery which was installed to deal with complaints (531 had been lodged by the end of 1932), the bias, or worse still, the apathy of the powers on the Council, the inability or unwillingness to exert pressure on obvious offenders, have in many cases resulted in unrest, disappointment and loss of faith among the minorities. In this respect, it was by no means the German minorities alone who suffered; Ukrainians in Poland, White Russians in the Baltic States, Hungarians in Slovakia and Rumania presented equally difficult problems.† But the blame cannot be put upon the League of Nations alone. "The real root of the trouble," says Mr. A. C. Macartney, "lies in the philosophy of the national State as it is practised to-day in Central and Eastern Europe. So long as the majority nations . . . persist in their theoretically and practically unattainable endeavour to make of those states the exclusive instruments of their own national ideals and aspirations, so long will the minorities be placed in a position which no system of international protection can render tolerable."‡ The new frontiers which were drawn at Versailles created new minorities for many countries, and again Germany was by no means the only sufferer. Easy assimilation of these new minorities by the majorities to which they were transferred was hardly to be expected.

Instead of a "European conscience" which many had hoped would be awakened on the Continent, fascist, authoritarian and semi-dictatorship régimes came to power in almost all the States with large minorities. A "Swiss" solution was nowhere found or even given a trial. The German minority leader, Paul Schiemann, who has been quoted above, said in 1937: "How much easier would mutual cultural toleration be if we would realise that all national cultural work in Europe is at the same time work for the common European culture. How much easier would political collaboration be if every State would see it as its duty to contribute to the preservation and strengthening of Europe." When he reminded the Nazis of the advice "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," he knew he would only be open to the contemptuous accusation of being a "liberalistic" and old-fashioned thinker. Yet he maintained that Liberalism, despite all its shortcomings, was the first real attempt to establish the principles of Christian-occidental civilisation in political life.

However, the Nazi doctrine of the *Volksgruppenrecht* has now made the German minorities,

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* For details see Hitler's proclamation of March 16th, 1939.

* Article by Fritz Sigl on the Serb Banat in "*Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*," Oslo, January 13th, 1943.

† For a detailed account of the League's work, the principles underlying the minority treaties, the treaties themselves and the whole complex minority question see, C. A. Macartney, "National States and National Minorities," OUP, 1934.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 421.

§ Schiemann, *op. cit.*, page 26.

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where they still exist, an object of hatred to all majority nations. The Nazi doctrine of the master race has made the German minorities in annexed territories now being liberated, the hated oppressors of subjugated peoples. Yet large German minorities will remain, though their distribution has fundamentally changed due to Hitler's uprooting policy of repatriation and his attempt to exterminate such peoples as the Poles and Slovenes. The new demographic picture of Europe as far as it concerns the German minorities is roughly as follows:—

In South-Eastern Europe, compact though diminished German minorities are left in the 1938 territories of Rumania (roughly 570,000 people), Hungary (500,000) and Yugoslavia (roughly 530,000 people).* Of the last, 40,000 were in German-annexed Slovenia before 1941, but it must be assumed that 20,000 to 30,000 ethnic Germans from other regions have settled there.

In Western Europe, the situation has remained stable in the case of Denmark (with roughly 30,000 German-speaking people) and Belgium (with roughly 90,000). Belgium has, in addition to the districts of Eupen-Malmédy (with a minority group of roughly 50,000 people), some German-speaking areas west of Eupen-Malmédy (15,000 people at most) and round Arlon in the Province of Luxembourg (24,000 at most) which, however, have never given any particular trouble.† With regard to Alsace-Lorraine, where the Germans claimed there were 1,300,000 people of German origin (according to French census records they numbered just over one million) a sharp change has taken place in Lorraine, where many settlers from inside Germany and from farther afield have made their homes, while a great number of new residents in the towns will probably have fled. Altogether about 200,000 people may be involved.

In Central Europe there are the 6,500,000 Austrians, and 140,000 may be left in Southern Tyrol. The situation in Caechoslovakia will be very complicated. The minority in Slovakia (numbering about 150,000) will be on the same footing as those in the other South-eastern States. The group in Carpatho-Russia is small, numbering some 13,000. The territories ceded at Munich support some 2,800,000 Germans and many of the Czechs who were transferred with these territories, will have been replaced by *Volksdeutsche* settlers. In addition, the Czech majority in the territory of the "Protectorate" will have been weakened by a great number of Reich German inhabitants and *volksdeutsche* settlers, especially in the regions of Prague and central Bohemia. Numbers cannot be ascertained, but recent reports tend to estimate them as very high, as much as one million and more. Again the urban German population who constitute the majority of the newcomers, will have withdrawn to the Reich by the time liberation comes.

The most complicated situation will prevail in Eastern Europe. Here all ethnic German residents have been withdrawn, from the Black Sea, the Ukraine, Central Russia, Eastern and Central Poland and the Baltic States.* Western Poland, however, *i.e.*, the region between Danzig, East-Prussia and Silesia, has been the chief experimental field of German colonisation. According to the Polish census of 1939, there were 664,000 ethnic Germans living in the area and the bulk of the 904,000 repatriated ethnic Germans from Eastern and South-eastern Europe were installed on Polish land and in Polish trade establishments. In addition, Reich Germans numbering several hundred thousand have come in as administrators, business men and overseers. Again, any final estimate of numbers involved is impossible. The readiness of officially Germanised Poles with identity cards of the *Volksliste* III and IV, to join the Polish forces immediately on being taken prisoner, seems to indicate that germanisation was entirely superficial. It is to be assumed, however, that there are now at least 1,400,000 genuine *Volksdeutsche* in the areas of Western Poland. As the Nazi authorities have so far tried to prevent any flight into the Reich, it may be that only a few will escape before the final re-conquest of these provinces. There are also the German language islands of Danzig and East Prussia which together have 2,700,000 German inhabitants, and the 900,000 of the pre-1939 province of Upper Silesia. This leaves something like 5 million Germans in the present administrative districts of East Prussia, "Danzig-West. preussen," "Wartheland" and Upper Silesia which had about 15 million inhabitants in 1941.

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* An article in "*Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien*" of July 21st, 1944, claims 2,200,000 ethnic Germans as members of the *Deutsche Volksgruppen* in South-Eastern Europe, including Slovakia, *i.e.*, 430,000 persons more than estimated in this chapter.

† The German-speaking minority around Arlon are actually Luxembourgers. It has only recently become known that the territory in the north (205 sq. km. with 25,000 inhabitants) which was part of Belgium before 1918 was incorporated in *Landkreis* Eupen during the war.

† Only 31,000 German-speaking Lithuanians who were re-transferred to their native country in 1943, were not allowed to leave Lithuania again when the Russians advanced during the summer of 1944. The Memel territory, which was an autonomous part of Lithuania until 1939, contains about 60,000 ethnic Germans.

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APPENDIX I

THE "SUDETEN GERMAN" QUESTION 1918-1938

I. The Structure of Czechoslovakia

In 1919, the Peace Conference confirmed the establishment of a Czechoslovak State, consisting of the lands of the Bohemian Crown, formerly belonging to the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire, and of the territories inhabited by Slovaks and Carpatho-Russians, formerly belonging to the Hungarian half. The broad basis of the new State was Point Ten of Wilson's Fourteen Points, providing that the "peoples of Austria-Hungary . . . should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." In addition, France and Britain recognised the Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris as a first basis of a future government in June and August, 1918, respectively.

The crucial question was whether the large German-speaking population inhabiting the fringes of Bohemia and Moravia should be included in the new State or whether they would fall under Point Ten as well. The Czechoslovak leaders insisted on the indivisibility of the Bohemian lands. Bohemia and Moravia are historically, geographically, strategically, and above all economically an absolute entity which had never been divided since the ninth century A.D. The boundaries being the ridges of a chain of mountainous hills surrounding a high fertile plain in the centre of which lie the two capitals of Prague and Brno. Thus the German-speaking industrial fringes were extremely dependent upon food supplies and railway lines from the Czech interior.

The feud between Germans and Czechs within Bohemia and Moravia during the centuries is part of the history of the Habsburg Monarchy*. It was fierce and unrelenting. The leading strata of the Germans demanded and clung to the leadership of these provinces under the Habsburgs and were filled with contempt and hatred for their Czech neighbours. They knew that the ascendancy of the majority would mean leaner times for them—particularly after many outrages against the Czechs during the first world war—and they attempted to create *faits accomplis* during the period between war and peace. After the Czechs had installed themselves in Prague on October 28th, 1918, four different German "Governments" were set up in different parts, with a view to becoming provinces of Austria and becoming with Austria, part of Germany :—

(1) The Government of *Deutsch-Böhmen* in Liberec (Reichenberg) covering Northern Bohemia from Cheb (Eger) to that town.

(2) The Government of *Sudetenland* in Opava (Troppau) claiming to embrace Austrian Silesia, Northern Moravia and Eastern Bohemia.

(3) The "government" of *Znojomo* (*Znaim*) whose leaders claimed Southern Moravia including Moravia's capital Brno.

(4) The "government" of *Krumlov* (*Krumau*), Southern Bohemia, whose leaders wished to join the Austrian Republic straight away.

The movement lasted for six weeks, and when the Czechs occupied the above territories, it became quite clear that the population was not unanimous and that there were considerable strata of opinion, among the workers as well as the industrialists, who were opposed to a complete severance from a future Czechoslovak republic. The regional governments (*Landesregierungen*) continued to agitate on Austrian soil and it was not until September 24th, 1919, that the Austrian government dissolved them.

The republic was created with the historic boundaries unchanged except in one case, the district of Hlucín (*Hultschin*), which was incorporated from the Prussian province of Silesia—315 sq. km. with 50,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent. of them Czech-speaking Moravians. It was suggested at the Peace Conference that the districts of Aš (Asch) and Cheb (Eger) in the extreme north-west of Bohemia should be ceded to Germany; the Czech leaders Masaryk and Beneš would not have been unwilling to abandon them, as they were inhabited by the fiercest nationalists among the Bohemian Germans, but France protested against the creation of such a precedent.*

Czechoslovakia came into being as a nationality State, like the other South-Eastern Successor States. The distribution of the different peoples was as follows :—

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* *Cf.* "Austrian Handbook," Part I, Chapter III, Section A.

* Konrad Henlein was born in Asch. These regions were the latest to join the Bohemian crown, in 1322.

NATIONALITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA (including foreigners)

Peoples	Population, in 000's 1921	Census	Population, in 000's 1930	Census
		Per cent.		Per cent.
Czechoslovaks	8,761	64·36	9,689	65·78
Germans	3,124	22·94	3,232	21·94
Magyars	745	5·47	692	4·70
Ruthenians	462	3·39	549	3·72
Jews‡	181	1·33	187	1·27
Polish	76	0·56	82	0·56
Miscellaneous	24	0·18	49	0·33
Foreigners	239	1·77	250	1·70
Total	13,612	100·00	14,730	100·00

‡ Many persons of the Jewish faith inscribed themselves as Germans (in Moravia and Bohemia) and as Magyars (in Slovakia); the above "nationality" was chosen by Zionists in all provinces and by almost all Jews of Carpatho-Russia. The distribution of the Jewish faith was as follows in 1930: Bohemia-Moravia, 117,551; Slovakia, 136,737; Carpatho-Russia, 102,542. Total for Czechoslovakia, 356,830.

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DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCES (excluding foreigners)

Province	Sq. km.	Population, in 000's 1921	Germans	Population, in 000's 1930	Of these, Germans in 000's	Germans
			Per cent.			Per cent.
Bohemia	52,064	6,577	33·0	7,015	2,271	32·4
Moravia	22,315	2,614	20·1	3,502	800	22·8
Silesia*	4,452	623	40·5			
Slovakia	48,933	2,959	4·8	3,254	147·5	4·5
Carpatho-Russia	12,644	600	1·8	709	13·25	1·9
Total ...	140,408	13,373	23·36	14,480	3,231·75	22·3

* Silesia was joined with Moravia in 1927.

The above figures show that the Germans were distributed unequally over the Republic, most of them being in Bohemia and Northern Moravia. But even there they did not constitute an entity either racially or geographically—as the setting up of several " autonomous " units in 1918 proved. The attached minority map of Czechoslovakia shows that six different patches, where the Germans have a 90 per cent. to 100 per cent. majority, almost encircle the Bohemian plain ; these are separated by regions, some of which show a strong Czech minority and others a definite majority.

The following are the German-speaking regions with over 70 per cent. majorities :—

	Germans
1. North-west Bohemian region (round Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) and Cheb (Eger)) ...	835,000
2. North-Bohemian region (round Liberec (Reichenberg)) ...	808,000
3. North-east Bohemian zone (round Trutnov (Trautenau))	131,000
4. North-Moravian region (with Jägerndorf, west of Opava (Troppau))	325,000
5. South-Bohemian zone (Krumov (Krumau) and Kaplitz (Kaplice))	87,000
6. South-Moravian zone (round Znojomo (Znaim))	110,000
	2,296,000

In addition there are German language islands in the Czech majority region such as round Moravska-Ostrava, Svitavy (Zwittau) and Jihlava (Iglau) and a considerable German population in the larger towns such as Brno (Brünn), Olomuc (Olmük) and Plzen (Pilsen) though the proportion has varied greatly during the last century.*

How complicated the racial pattern in this area is can be gathered from the hardly extricable intermixture of Czechs and Germans everywhere. The German-majority districts in Bohemia include 16·8 per cent. Czechs (384,000 to 2 million), in Moravia 20·8 per cent. (114,000 to 434,000). On the other hand, in the Czech districts of Bohemia live 305,000 Germans, or 6·1 per cent. and in Moravia their proportion is 12 per cent. At Munich, Czechoslovakia had to cede to Germany more than 3·4 million inhabitants, among whom were about 700,000 Czechs, or more than 20 per cent., while 370,000 Germans remained in the truncated Czecho-Slovak State.

Racially, the " Sudeten Germans " sprang from different Germanic tribes and speak different dialects ; the people of Asch and Eger are by origin Franconians, those of North Bohemia, Upper-Saxons, of South-Bohemia, Bavarians and of Northern-Moravia, Silesians, not to mention the constant intermarriage with Czechs throughout the centuries.* Economically, the German-inhabited areas were the pivot of Czechoslovakia's mineral resources (lignite, coal and radium) and of most of her industries such as textiles, leather, boots, metal, machine, glass, china and paper industries, while her whole wealth of timber was located there as well.† Strategically, these areas were, of course, of the utmost importance and the Czech Maginot line was, owing to geographical conditions, reputedly superior to the French. It was mainly for these very strategic reasons that the Czechoslovak Government declared themselves unable to grant the German minority complete autonomy on the Swiss model, *i.e.*, a federal status, with its own diet and regional government.

On the other hand, the Czech constitution of 1920 granted the German minorities rights which were strictly based on the Minority Statute of the League of Nations. They had their self-government in all municipalities, based on universal rights and proportional representation and as a result of local elections on June 15th, 1919, the administration of all parishes and towns with German-speaking populations was placed in the hands of German-speaking citizens of the Republic. According to the same franchise they sent their representatives to the central parliament in Prague where they could make their voice felt if they chose to do so.‡ The Education Act of April, 1919, provided for German schools wherever on a three years' average there was an attendance of at least forty children, and the language act which formed a supplement to the Constitution of 1920, laid it down that all courts of law and public offices

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* Brno had 25%, Olomuc 23%, and Plzen 6% Germans in 1930.

* The mother of Konrad Henlein, the present *Reichsstatthalter* of "Sudetenland," was Hedwika Dvoráĉková, a pure Czech. But even names do not say much ; the leader of the Czech Social-Democrats was a Dr. Deutsch and that of the Germans a Dr. Czech. The Jewish population spoke the German language and registered as Germans, under the Habsburgs, and when the Czech government distinguished between German and Jews in the census of 1920, there was a great outcry among the German nationalists.

† Heavy industry on the other hand was located in purely Caech regions, *e.g.*, in Plzen and Moravska-Ostrava.

‡ The general elections of May, 1920, resulted in seventy-two Germans being returned to the Chamber of Deputies (total of deputies being 281) and thirty-seven to the Senate (total of Senators being 142). It is interesting to note that under the Habsburgs the Germans of Prague had no representation in the municipal council, but received their share after 1918.

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must accept and deal with applications in the language of a minority wherever it formed more than 20 per cent. of the population. Public libraries in the minority language were to be set up where there was a minority population of more than 400. Statistics of October 31st, 1935, show that 97 per cent. of all school-going German children were educated in German schools; in 1930 141,000 Germans were employed in public services, compared with 584,000 Czechs and Slovaks; according to proportional treatment there should have been 40,000 more. This was one of the many grievances put forward by the German-speaking minority. President Beneš replied to it by saying that a democratic state does not wish to entrust its administration to officials who profess totalitarian principles and who fraternise with a neighbouring and—at the time, 1935—outspokenly unfriendly state.

This fact lay at the root of the whole problem; the more Nazism came to the fore—from 1930 onwards—the more the situation was reversed; the "Germans" in Bohemia were no longer a minority within the Czech state, but the Czechs became an island in a Teutonic ocean rolling aggressively against their shores. The revival of pan-Germanism, had in fact always been a potential danger to the Republic.

The President, in a speech delivered in Liberec (Reichenberg) on August 19th, 1936, said that he did not hesitate to admit that mistakes had been made in the past which must not be repeated. The grievances he referred to were mainly concerned with acts of chauvinism committed by Czech officials during the early days of the Republic, when feeling was running high; but also with the consequences of the new law on administrative re-division issued in 1927, which deliberately mixed Germans and Czechs in the newly founded administrative districts and centralised their local government, often at the expense of German local appointments. For state appointments, a language test in Czech was necessary, and as the "Sudeten" Germans were loth to learn Czech, while most of the Czechs spoke at least some German, this again turned out to their disadvantage. Thus many postmen, gendarmes and customs officials in the German language areas often spoke inadequate German. Although deputies in the chamber were able to use their mother tongue, parliamentary records were kept in the State language and trouble often arose over the meaning of speeches. Signposts and street names in both town and country, where there were less than 20 per cent. Germans (or Hungarians, etc.) were in Czech. Furthermore the Government was hesitant in granting commissions to Sudeten Germans and used to station German units far away from their homes, while the minority areas were garrisoned with Czech units, precautionary measures dictated by strategic reasons.

Yet, considering all these grievances, the conclusion which such a careful student of Czech-German relations as Elizabeth Wiskemann draws is that "it would be difficult for anyone with any real knowledge of general minority conditions in Central and Eastern Europe to question that the democratic Czechoslovak Republic has given its minorities more equitable treatment and greater opportunities to express their views and win consideration for them than the political systems in Italy, Germany, Poland or elsewhere allow."[*]

II. Political Development

1 "*Negativism,*" 1919-1926, *and* "*Activism,*" 1926-1932

The first phase of Czech-German relations within the new Republic was characterised by a complete negativism on the side of the Germans. Organisations such as the *Deutsche Böhmerwaldbund* (founded in 1884), the *Bund der Deutschen Nordmährens* (1886) and above all the *Bund der Deutschen in Böhmen* (1896), these and others combined in the *Haupstelle für deutsche Schutzarbeit* (Central Office for German protective Work) in 1920, competed with each other in nationalist propaganda. Appeals made by the Czech leaders, particularly warmly by President Masaryk, to co-operate in drafting the constitution and other basic state laws, were indignantly rejected and the boycott of parliamentary business—not a new thing for the German nationalists in former Austrian parliaments, central or local—was the only contribution they had to make. It was thus very simple for the minority to say that the constitution had been "forced" upon them. A change for the better took place in 1922 when a re-grouping of the German-speaking parties clarified the situation. The "German Federation," that hitherto contained all parties except the German Socialists, and had been the centre of negativism, split into two groups consisting—

(*a*) of a "working community" (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) embracing the German Agrarians and "Christian Socialists" (Clericals); and

(*b*) of the "fighting community" (*Kampfgemeinschaft*) embracing the German Nationalists and National Socialists, dominated by Pan-German ideology and dependent on the corresponding organisations in Germany and Austria.

While the latter became more and more recalcitrant, the former maintained, in accord with the Socialists who had held this view from the outset, that the right policy was to improve the position of the Germans in agreement and collaboration with the Czech majority. They called themselves "Activists." General elections in the autumn of 1925 showed that this policy had the approval of the German population. Sixteen Negativists (ten German nationalists and six National Socialists) were returned as against fifty-four Activists (twenty-four Agrarians, eighteen Socialists and twelve Clericals), and this result clearly reflected the spirit of Locarno that prevailed in Europe at the time. Lodgmann, the German Nationalist leader of 1918, and self-styled *Landeshauptmann* of *Deutsch-Böhmen* was not even returned by his own constituency. Consequently, two Germans joined the Czech Cabinet in 1926, one Agrarian and one Catholic, the latter being replaced in 1930 by a representative of the Socialists, who in the 1929 elections had become the strongest German party. The Negativists then further declined to fifteen. In 1928, Dr. Spina, the German-Agrarian Cabinet Minister, summed up the situation as follows:—

> "This path . . . has been successful beyond doubt . . . In the two years of our collaboration in the Government a complete change of atmosphere has been brought about in the political and national life of the two peoples."

2. *The Rise of the Nazi Movement in Czechoslovakia*

The very origin of Nazism can be traced back to the "Sudetenland" where, on November 15th,

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[*] Elizabeth Wiskemann, "Czechs and Germans. A study of the struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia," Oxford, 1938.

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1903, at a Conference in Aussig a "German Workers' Party for Austria" was founded, whose programme contained all the paraphernalia of the twenty-five points of the later German Nazi party. In May, 1918, this party called itself "German National Socialist Workers' Party in Austria" and its Bohemian branch became independent in 1919 as DNSAP. When early in 1920 Drexler and Hitler founded their "seven men" "National Socialist German Workers' Party" (NSDAP), contact was established with their older Bohemian and Austrian corresponding numbers. The ideological principles of these movements were strictly co-ordinated; an anti-democratic outlook, racialist, anti-semitic and pan-German, desiring the union of all German-speaking people in one Reich. The same banners, uniforms and badges were adopted. Officially, they claimed to demand nothing but "autonomy" within the Czech State, but the map they produced with their autonomy programme in 1927 embraced almost 40 per cent. of the population of Bohemia and Moravia. Their storm-troopers had been organised since 1929 in a society called "People's Sport" (*Volkssport*). The movement grew with Nazi election successes in Germany; it received instructions from Germany, drew its inspiration from Nazi propaganda, and the Storm Trooper "sportsmen" started terrorising the German population of the provinces to an increasing extent. The Czechoslovak government, following a similar action taken by Brüning in Germany, forbade the wearing of Nazi and *Volkssport* uniforms in 1931. A trial of members of the Sport Society for high treason, held in Brno in the autumn of 1932, created a great stir. It resulted in some convictions for conspiracy against the Republic and its democratic institutions. The DNSAP as a party was allowed to exist longer than its Austrian twin brother. When, in the autumn of 1933, the Government decided to act, they were anticipated by the self-dissolution of the party on October 3rd. On October 20th, the Czech parliament passed bills dissolving all political parties hostile to the state and excluding Nazis from public appointments and leading posts in the country's economy. The German Students' organisation in Prague had been disbanded in July, the *deutsch-völkisch* trade union (claiming 70,000 members) followed in November.

3. *Konrad Henlein*

It was hardly a coincidence that two days before the self-dissolution of the Czechoslovak DNSAP, a new party, the "Sudeten-German Homefront" (*Heimatfront*) had been founded. Its leader was Konrad HENLEIN, a physical training instructor, who had indeed never been a member of the Nazi party, but had been active in German nationalist societies such as the German *Turnverband* of Czechoslovakia, the *Kameradschaftsbund* (founded in 1926) and similar organisations which cultivated the idea of "*bündisch*" groups, *i.e.*, organic social grouping that aimed at a corporative-authoritarian State based on the theories of the Austrians Seipel and Othmar Spann. The *Turnverband* and the *Kameradschaftsbund* had unofficially merged in February, 1930, with Henlein as President. It was in July, 1933, at a sport festival at Zateč (Saaz), that Henlein was for the first time hailed as "Führer." When he founded the *Heimatfront* on October 1st, he appealed "above all parties and estates . . . to the Sudeten German people" and proclaimed his adherence to the "fundamentals of democracy" although his movement was to be built up on the basis of estates and corporations. He protested his goodwill so successfully that Dr. Spina, the German Cabinet Minister, concluded on behalf of his Agrarians a gentlemen's agreement with Henlein who now seemed to be an "activist" collaborator with the Czechs. When it was observed that the *Heimatfront* quietly absorbed most of the members of the self-dissolved DNSAP, Henlein used to point out that the leadership was entirely confined to "men without political pasts." The innocuous nature of the new party—which in 1935 changed its name into *Sudetendeutsche Partei* (SDP) at the request of the Government—seemed to be confirmed by Henlein's speech of October 21st, 1934, in which he repudiated pan-Germanism as well as pan-Slavism, as both were leading "inevitably" to war*; he further professed that his movement had nothing in common with either Italian Fascism or German Nazism and even declared:—

> "We shall never abandon liberalism, *i.e.*, the unconditional respect for individual rights as a fundamental principle in determining human relations in general and the relations between the citizen and an official authority in particular."

When he pressed for decentralisation, he was quick to assert that the unity of the Czechoslovak State must be preserved, and it was therefore "senseless to suppose that self-government could mean a Sudeten German Parliament or anything like it." Another speaker denounced the idea of a Habsburg restoration or of the revision of the Peace treaties.

It was during the general elections of May, 1935, that the true nature of the movement came to light. Propaganda grew more violent and a general terrorisation of those Germans who thought differently from the SDP was in full swing. Above all, the economic distress which had affected the "Sudeten" German areas more than other Czechoslovak regions was exploited to the full. As mining and industries destined for exports were centred in these areas, unemployment became very serious, and proportionally the number of unemployed was twice as large here as in the purely Czech regions. Consequently, the German-speaking areas received twice the amount of relief and subsidies compared with Czech-speaking districts, according to authentic Czech statistics. Yet, the Czech government admitted later on that relief measures were not fully adequate and would be improved, but the constant reference of the SDP leaders to conditions in the neighbouring Reich German districts with plenty of work and pay which were upheld as a shining example added to the sweeping success of the party. It polled 1,250,000 votes or 63 per cent. of all German votes and became, with forty-four deputies, not only the strongest German faction, but the strongest single party in the Czechoslovak Parliament. The German Socialists lost 16 per cent., but returned—with 300,000 votes—eleven deputies, while the German "bourgeois" parties lost more than 50 per cent. of their electorate, so that the Socialists remained the only considerable force of opposition among the Germans.

Immediately after this great success dissensions broke out in the Party, as often happened in the history of the Nazi movement and all its branches. Although Henlein rid himself of some of the more outspoken extremists, he felt impelled, in

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* He repeated this statement in his address at Chatham House in December, 1935, using the term "disaster" instead of "war."

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his speech at Eger of June 21st, 1936, to burn his boats. He now claimed autonomy for the German-speaking minority and applied the newly developed German *Volksgruppenrecht* by saying that " every people and its responsible leaders must be acknowledged to be solely responsible for the adjustment of their own national status." He demanded the recognition of the " racial personality (*Volkspersönlichkeit*) as an entity " and in this respect the creation of a new " system of nationality law " and the right of close collaboration with the Third Reich. In January, 1937, he formulated his movement's demands less ambiguously as follows :—

(1) Establishment of a Federal State with full autonomy for the German minority.

(2) Rupture of the pacts with France and Russia.*

(3) Adoption of a foreign policy in harmony with that of Germany.

(4) Participation of the SDP in the Cabinet (where the Activists were still represented).

(5) Appointment of Party members to official positions.

On April 28th, the SDP tabled six bills which represented the new Nazi idea of the ethnic groups. They included " protection of racial rights by the formation of public corporations," the realisation of " racial equality in all branches of public administration," a penal code prosecuting everybody, including the State for acts of " denationalisation," the creation of racial records, responsibility of the State for all " damage " which might be inflicted upon the minority, and the right to prosecute the State before a constitutional court.

The acceptance of any of these demands by the Government would have been tantamount to the suicide of the Czechoslovak State, in fact they were nothing but a declaration of civil war. Propaganda and terror increased, while the government came to an agreement with the Activist leaders in February, which was intended to undo a number of justified grievances, but was hotly denounced by the Henleinists as worthless. Special measures were promised and carried out for the depressed areas and for stronger representation of the Germans in official positions. The Henleinists, of course, were just as infuriated when more State appointments were given to " Activist " Germans as if they had been given to Czechs.

III. From Austria to Munich

The annexation of Austria in March, 1938, engineered as it was by the Sudeten-German " moderate " Seyss-Inquart, a former member of the *Kameradschaftsbund*, encircled Czechoslovakia and made her position extremely precarious. This danger was in no way diminished by a precise assurance given on March 14th by Field Marshal Göring—who in addition pledged his " word of honour "—that Germany was determined to respect the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia. The slogan circulated by the Henleinists in the same month was " *Im Mai die Tschechoslovakei* " ; it was precisely in May that German troop movements led to a partial mobilisation of the Czech forces. This precautionary measure produced violent indignation in Germany and Goebbels declared a month later (on June 21st) :—

> " We will not look on much longer while 3,500,000 Germans are maltreated. We saw in Austria that one race cannot be divided into two countries, and we shall soon see it somewhere else."

Meanwhile Henlein, by his " Karlsbad Programme " of April 24th, had increased his demands put forward in 1937. He now asked, in addition to his former points, for full liberty to " demonstrate " Germanism and Nazi ideology and for " reparation in cash for all injustices done to Sudeten Germans since 1918." The government in reply laid down their policy by promising to make every concession " except such as would minimise our sovereignty and endanger the security of the State and its present frontiers." It was therefore an unbridgable gulf that confronted Lord Runciman when he arrived in Prague on August 3rd, 1938, to act as an arbiter between the two parties and to promote a " solution." During the negotiations which took place between Lord Runciman and Henlein, and the fake negotiations between Henlein and the Czech government, the anti-Henlein Germans were never consulted at all, although the Social Democrats under their new leader Wenzel JAKSCH exercised a very considerable influence over the German masses.* The Nazis pretended to fight for autonomy only, although it was an unacceptable autonomy, meaning the creation of a totalitarian state within a democratic republic.

Hitler's abusive speech of September 12th was the signal for action. Riots broke out in the frontier regions, which were met with firm countermeasures by the Czech Government. It was on September 15th, 1938, the day of Mr. Chamberlain's arrival at Berchtesgaden, that Henlein for the first time openly announced the demand for union with the Reich. Asserting that machine guns, armoured cars and tanks were being used against the defenceless Sudeten-Germans, he concluded his proclamation with : " We want to go home to the Reich."† This demand led to the suspension of the party and all its sub-organisations a day later. Henlein, his deputy, K. H. FRANK (now Deputy " Protector " of Bohemia-Moravia) and other leaders fled to Germany. The disturbances ceased completely and an appeal to the German population issued by the Government met with astonishing success. From all parts of the German-speaking areas declarations of loyalty to the Republic were submitted voluntarily to the authorities, many of them by local secretaries of the Henlein party ; one of their senators left the party. The gist of these declarations was that Henlein had acted without the consent of the people by demanding *Anschluss* with the Reich. When after the breakdown of the Godesberg negotiations on September 23rd, the Western Powers advised the Czech Government to mobilise, the mobilisation was completed without incident within twenty-four hours and most of the German population followed the Government's call without a murmur, although 30,000 or more Henleinists chose to escape over the frontier.

The partition of Czechoslovakia was decided upon in Munich without consultation of the peoples

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* The Czechoslovak-Soviet pact of May 16th, 1935, was based on the Covenant of the League and provided for mutual assistance in the event of aggression on either party, on condition that the victim was assisted by France. It referred to the Franco-Russian pact of May 2nd, 1935. A treaty of friendship and alliance with France dated back as far as January, 1924.

* The other Activist parties had thrown in their hands in March, 1938, by merging with the SDP.

† " *Wir wollen heim ins Reich* ! " The expression " return " of the Bohemian Germans to the Reich is a fallacy. They were part of the Holy Roman Empire in so far as the Kingdom of Bohemia was a member of it, and part of the Germanic Confederation (1815/66), in so far as the historical provinces of Austria were included in it.

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concerned. The Munich terms provided for plebiscites in a few areas besides the five zones to be annexed by Germany straight away.* It is, however, significant that Hitler preferred not to avail himself of this opportunity, but to leave them undisputed to the Czecho-Slovak rump state. They were to fall to him in due course, when he invaded Czecho-Slovakia on March 15th, 1939.

The results of the two partitions of Czechoslovakia are shewn in the following figures :—

A.—*The Munich Agreement, September 30th, 1938 and the Vienna Award of November 2nd, 1938*	*Sq. km.*	*Population in 000's*
Czechoslovakia	141,000	15,100
To Germany	29,000	3,400
To Hungary	12,000	1,000
To Poland	1,000	200
Losses	42,000	4,600
Czecho-Slovakia (1938/39)	99,000	10,500
B.—*Partition after March 15th, 1939 :*		
" Protectorate "	49,000	7,380
State of Slovakia	38,000	2,800
To Hungary (remainder of Carpatho-Russia)	12,000	670

IV. Conclusion

The history of the Sudeten German problem provides a perfect example of the Nazi method of using a *Volksgruppe* as an instrument for the disruption of a State, the destruction and partition of which is the final aim of the " mother country's " foreign policy. The stages invariably were: exaggeration of grievances, creation of unrest among the minority population, co-operation with other minorities which are promised that they would profit by the success of the German minority (*e.g.*, Slovaks, Magyars, Poles), driving the State into taking protective measures, vociferously complaining about oppression and terror to the world at large, and finally, " action in self defence " (*Notewehr*) with the aid of the "mother country." The masses of the German minority were flooded with propaganda and, although they were left in ignorance of the real aims of the movement, their " racial " pride and " race consciousness " were aroused, and any opposition among them or counsel of moderation branded as national or " racial " treachery.

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* Under the Munich Four-Power Plan, all plebiscite areas (which included the districts of Jihlava, Brno, Olomuc and Moravska-Ostrava) were to be occupied by an international force before the plebiscites were to be held.

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APPENDIX II

Eight Comparative Charts showing the Various Forms of German Administration in Incorporated and Occupied Territories

I.—The " Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia " (German Reich Protector, German Minister of State, and " autonomous " government). " Part of the Reich."
II.—The " General-Government " (of Poland) ; (German Governor General as sole administrator)—" Nebenland."
III.—Norway (German Reich Commissioner and " autonomous " government)—Occupied.
IV.—Holland (German Reich Commissioner and " headless " government of Secretaries General)—Occupied.
V.—Belgium (German Military Commander and " headless " government of Secretaries General)—Occupied.
VI.—" Reichsgau Wartheland " (purely Polish population under a Reich Governor)—Incorporated in the Reich.
VII.—Alsace (under a " Chief of Civil Administration ")—Virtually incorporated in the Reich.
VIII.—Reich Ministry of Occupied Eastern territories—governing the Reich Commissariats Ukraine and *Ostland.*

NOTE.—The following charts are simplified and do not show the intricacies of relations between the administrators appointed by Hitler and the various " special Reich administrations " which have been set up to provide foreign labour for Germany and exploit the economic resources of the territories concerned (*i.e.*, Speer's, Sauckel's and Göring's organisations).

I.—THE " PROTECTORATE BOHEMIA-MORAVIA "

(in the form laid down in " *Verordnungsblatt Böhmen-Mähren* " of November 4th. 1943)

R.S. = Reich Supervision
P. = Protectorate

German Administration
|
The *Reichprotektor in Böhmen und Mähren*
|
The German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia

(1) Minister's Office (attached Gau Labour Leader's Liaison Office).
(2) Central Administration. (3) Supreme Comptroller's Office.

Under the Minister are the nine departments for the supervision of Czech administration and the exercise of Reich sovereignty in the " Protectorate." (*See* below.)

" Autonomous Government "

The President of State
|
The Cabinet

1. The Prime Minister and Minister of Justice.
2. The Minister of the Interior.
3. The Minister of Economics and Labour.*
4. The Minister of Education and Popular Enlightenment.
5. The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.
6. The Minister of Communications and Technical Services.
7. The Minister of Finance.

* A Reich German ; the others are Czechs, but cannot sign anything without the approval of the German Director-General (*Präsidialchef*) attached to each Ministry.

DEPARTMENTS (each headed by a *Generalreferent*)

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII*	IX.
General and Internal Administration	Justice	Schools	Cultural Policy	Economics and Labour	Food and Agriculture	Finance	Transport	Telephone and Postal Service
(1) R.S. of general and internal administration (including *Reichsauftragsverwaltung*). Matters concerning sovereignty of Reich. *Raumordnung*. Archives. Sports (2) Reich Defence (3) R.S. of P. Health Service and German Health Service (4) R.S. of P. Veterinary Service. German Veterinary Chamber (5) State Youth (6) German Universities and Colleges	(1) R.S. of P. Criminal Procedure. German Criminal Procedure (2) R.S. of P. Civil Law Procedure. German Civil Law Procedure (3) *Justiziariat*	(1) R.S. of P. school administration and cultural affairs. German Academy of Science (2) R.S. of P. schools, teachers' colleges, popular education and science	(1) Literature, theatres, music, films, etc. Problems of Reich Cultural Chamber (2) Propaganda (3) Press (4) Radio	(1) R.S. of P. Economic Administration (including banking and issue of notes) (2) R.S. of P. Labour administration (3) R.S. of P. Price Control (4) R.S. of P. Forests Liaison Officer of Minister with Protectorate Trade Unions	(1) R.S. of P. agriculture and agricultural production (2) R.S. of P. food economy and public supplies (3) R.S. of P. agricultural training, banking, co-operatives and the Association of Agriculture and Forestry	(1) R.S. of P. financial administration (2) Administration of customs, excise and Reich monopolies (3) Administration of Reich property	(1) R.S. of P. Transport (2) R.S. of P. Technical administration (3) Trustee for local transport (4) Trustee for Waterways (5) Administration of building	(1) R.S. of P. telephone service (2) R.S. of P. postal Services (3) German postal service (*Deutsche Dienstpost*)

* Attached Trustee for Reich Aviation Administration.

The Senior SS and Police Leader (who is the Minister)

The Commander of Uniformed Police
(1) Reich Control of P. uniformed and administrative Police.*
(2) ARP and Technical Emergency Aid (TN).

The Commander of Security Police and SD
(1) Reich Control of P. non-uniformed Police.
(2) Reich's own administrative Police.

* Eighty German Police Officers are attached to "autonomous" Police whose C.-in-C. is a German.

Wehrkreis Bohemia-Moravia.

Recruiting area : Prague, with 4 sub-areas, 8 districts, and 15 sub-districts.

Regional Administration

Land Bohemia :
Two German Vice-Presidents.
Land Moravia :
Two German Vice-Presidents.

Seven *Oberlandratsbezirke* headed by *Oberlandräte* for the affairs of the Germans in the Protectorate. As Inspectors of the Reich Protector for the supervision of Czech local government, they are members of the Ministry of State.

Regional Administration

Land Bohemia :
One Czech President.
Land Moravia :
One Czech President.

Provincial Diets, Commissions, etc., were dissolved by decree of April 13th, 1939. Substituted by appointed advisory bodies (*Landesbeiräte*).

Sixty-seven Districts (*Okresi*) headed by District Chiefs (*Bezirkshauptmänner*). In May, 1943, forty of them were Germans, twenty-three Czechs, and four vacancies. The towns of Prague, Plzen, Brno, Olomuc and Moravska-Ostrava have German Mayors and Police Presidents. Many other towns have German Commissioners. All Town Councils have been dissolved.

II.—The " GENERAL GOVERNMENT " (G.G.)

I.—The GOVERNOR-GENERAL in Cracow. (He is also Head of the *Arbeitsbereich* G.G. of the NSDAP.)

II.—The GOVERNMENT OF THE G.G. Head : The Secretary of State. Deputy with same rank.

Representatives of Reich Government : (*a*) Representative of Party Chancery of NSDAP. (*b*) Representative of German Foreign Office. (*c*) Liaison Officer of the High Command. (*d*) Liaison Officer of the Army. (*e*) Liaison Officer of the *Luftwaffe*. (*f*) Liaison Officer of the Reich Labour Service Leader.

Chief Departments (Hauptabteilungen)

1. Secretariat of State	2. Internal Administration	3. Health	4. Finance	5. Justice	6. Economic Affairs	7. Food and Agriculture	8 Forests	9. Labour and Social Policy	10. Propaganda	11. Science and Education	12. Building	13. Railways	14 Postal Services
12 Depts. *e.g.*, Chancery of the Governor General. Legislation Office for Youth Price Control Personnel	7 Depts. *e.g.*, Church Affairs *Baudienst* (Polish Labour Service) Statistical Office Archives	2 Depts.	4 Depts. and General Manager of the 6 Monopolies : 1. Tobacco 2. Spirits 3. Salt 4. Mineral Oils 5. Matches, Sugar, Playing Cards, etc. 6. Import and Export	3 Depts. and Commissioner for enemy property	6 Depts, and Office of 4-Year Plan. Plenipotentiary for Industrial Development	6 Depts. Head : the *Landesbauernführer*	4 Depts.	5 Depts. Labour Law, Administration of Labour Supply with 21 regional Labour Offices	6 Depts. *e.g.*, Press, Culture, Radio, Film, Propaganda for the Forces	3 Depts. (1) Administration (2) Education (3) Science and Adult Education	6 Depts. and Plenipotentiary for Building in the G.G. (This Department has been directly under Speer since Spring, 1943)	6 Depts. Administration of the *Ostban* 1 Railway Management in each of the 5 Districts	4 Depts.

III.—The *Senior SS and Police Leader* (Secretary of State for Security)—
(*a*) The Commander of the Uniformed Police. (*b*) The Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service. (*c*) Representative of the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanhood.

Military Commander of Wehrkreis Government General. Chief of the Armament Inspectorate.

Regional Administration

Five Districts, each headed by District Governor. His Deputy : Chief of District Office (*Amtschef*) with four Departments, and special Departments corresponding to the above. SS and Police Leader for each District.

Fifty-nine *Kreishauptmannschaften* (" Counties "). Head : *Kreishauptmann* and his Deputy with eight Departments. (A) Central Office. (B) 1. Interior ; 2. Police ; 3. Domestic Affairs ; 4. Food and Agriculture ; 5. Education ; 6. Youth ; 7. *Baudienst*.

Five *Stadthauptmannschaften* (" County Boroughs ") : *Stadthauptmann* supervises Polish Mayor and local government. Among his various Departments is the Police Directorate. Towns have German-appointed native Mayors (*Stadtbürgermeister*), but many have a German Town Commissar in addition. Villages have German-appointed native Mayors (*Schulzen*). Groups of villages are combined into Rural Districts (*Sammelgemeinden*) under a German-appointed native leader (*Vogt*) supervised by *Landkomissare*.

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III.—NORWAY

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories in Oslo

CHIEF DEPARTMENTS (*HAUPTABTEILUNGEN*)

I. Administration	II. National Economy	III. Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda	IV. Technical Subjects	V. Senior SS and Police Leader NORTH	VI. Special Duty Staff	VII. Commissioner for Reich Labour Service
Departments	Departments	Departments	Departments	Departments		
Central (Personnel, Finance, Accounts, etc.)	Export trade and mining ..	Propaganda (including economic propaganda, literature, entertainment for troops, and sport)	Construction of roads and bridges	C.-in-C. of the Uniformed Police. Groups: Staff-Administration and Law	Staff of political leaders to advise Quisling's *Nasjonal Samling* by placing experience of NSDAP at their disposal	He leads the units of the German Labour Service who are working in Norway and advises Norwegian authorities in the building up of a Norwegian Labour Service
Constitution and Law (including legislation)	Internal economy	Press (including Swedish reports, censorship, archives)	Building Construction .. (*Hochbau*)	C.-in-C. of the Security Police and SD		
Foreign Affairs (including liaison with Reich Chancery)	Communications	Wireless (including Norwegian wireless, news service, entertainment, programme for troops)	Supply and Building organisation	C.-in-C. of the Armed SS ..		
Internal Affairs (including Norwegian civil service, local government and War administration)	Finance, Commissioner for Bank of Norway	—	Railway construction, Building economy		*Central Reich Office for Occupied Norwegian territory* with the Reich Ministry of the Interior, Berlin. Task: to secure collaboration of the Supreme Reich Authorities with Reich Commissioner	*Office* (*Dienstelle*) *of R.C. for Norway in Berlin.* A kind of legation of the R.C. with the Reich. Also looks after interests of Norwegians in the Reich
Health..	Prices and Price Control ..	Culture (including German-Norwegian cultural exchange)	Power economics and Technical Research for the development of electricity in Norway			
Posts and Telegraph ..	Food supplies and agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry, Timber and Hunting. Labour and Social organisation	School and Education (including Universities and Church, Libraries and Archives, German Academy and School)	Factory Protection			

Regional Offices of the Reich Commissioner in Lillehammer, Kristinsund, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, Narvik, Tromsoe, Kirkenes.
C.-in-C. German Forces in Norway with Area Commanders in Alta (North), Trondheim (Centre), Oslo (South).
C.-in-C. German Naval Forces in Trondheim—General Commanding German Air Force.
Chief of Economic Staff (*Wehrwirtschaftsstab*)—Head of *Organisation Todt*—Speer-organisation runs shipping for fortifications.
Party Organisations: AO of *NSDAP, Landesgruppe Norwegen* with *Landesleiter.* Branches—DAF, KDF, SA, HJ, *Frauenschaft.*
German Economic Chamber; German Academy (*Mittelstelle* Norway); German School Society; German Theatre (Oslo); one daily, one weekly, two monthlies in German. (The "*Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*" is the most important paper.)
" Autonomous " Government with Quisling as Prime Minister and thirteen ministerial departments. Elaborate Party organisation with affiliated organisations and formations of *Nasjonal Samling.*

IV.—HOLLAND

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Netherlands Territories in The Hague

- Personal Staff Reich Commissioner's Secretariat
- Representative of German Foreign Office. Foreign Affairs
- Presidential Department (*Präsidialabteilung*). Matters of Government reserved for Reich Commissioner's own decisions. German personnel and finances of German administration
- General Commissar for Administration and Justice
  - Jurisdiction, matters of Dutch personnel, and German Public Prosecution. German schools. Matters of German Nationals
    - German *Obergericht*
    - German *Landgericht* for civil penal cases
    - German Registrars
  - Matters of Dutch Ministry of Home Affairs and Justice, except Police; cultural and social care for youth; public health and veterinary matters
- General Commissar for Security (Senior SS and Police Leader
  - Command of armed SS and other German police forces and police authorities
  - Matters of Dutch State and Municipal Police.
- General Commissar for Finance and Economics
  - Matters of Dutch Ministries of Finance and Economics, Transport, Waterways and Dykes, Postal Services. Matters of Dutch Ministry for Social Affairs, except Health and Youth matters.
  - Supervision of enemy property in Holland
- General Commissar for Special Affairs
  - Matters of Dutch Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Education. Control of non-economic organisations and Labour Service.
  - Matters of the *Arbeitsbereich der NSDAP*
- Deputies of the R.C. for the eleven Dutch Provinces which are headed by German-appointed Dutch Provincial Commissars; attached to them are also Provincial representatives of the "Leader" (Mussert).
- Deputies of the R.C. for the administration of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. (In municipalities with over 20,000, the R.C. appoints and dismisses *Bürgermeister*; in smaller towns and communes the Gen. Commissar for Administration appoints *Bürgermeister*.

Dutch Ministries are administered by German-appointed Secretaries General, to each of whom is attached one of the above German General Commissars and a delegate of Mussert's Secretariat of States of the NSB.

German Military Administration

Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber (C.-in-C.)

- Chief of Staff
  - Department Leadership; Defence; care of troops; cartography; Demolitions.
    - Commissioner for Sea and Inland Shipping
  - Q.M. — Billeting; Transport.
  - Adjutant — Personnel; Postal Services; Payment.
  - Legal — Judicial questions
    - Military and Naval Courts-Martial.
  - Signals — telephone, telegraph, radio.

Air Chief for Holland—Commander of *Luftgau*, Holland.
Naval C.-in-C.—*Rüstungsinspektion Niederlande*.

Party Organisation :

German	*Dutch*
Arbeitsbereich der NSDAP in den Niederlanden (Seat : Utrecht) Branches of DAF, NSV, HJ, BDM, NSF, NSKK. German Cultural Association—two Reich Schools—German Theatre. German Daily : "*Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden.*"	Elaborate Party Organisation with affiliated organisations and formations of the *National Socialist Beweging*. Since February 1st, 1943, "Secretariat of State of NSB," a shadow cabinet.

V.—BELGIUM

Military Commander of Belgium (*and Northern France*)

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

Chief of Military Administration
(*Militärverwaltungschef*)

DEPARTMENTS

(1) Economic General Staff.*
(2) Transport.
(3) Municipalities and Communes.
(4) Armament Inspectorate.
(5) Production.
(6) Justice.
(7) Social Assistance.
(8) Currency Production.
(9) Secret Police of Military Administration
(10) Protection of the Arts.

Plenipotentiary of the German Foreign Office. Delegate of *Reichführer SS* (who has built up a complete Gestapo organisation)—SS Brigade Leader.
Representative of Reich Labour Service Leader.
Representative of Reich Youth Leader.
Propaganda Staff responsible to Goebbels.

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Oberfeldkommandanturen
Seat for Provinces

1. Brussels—Brabant, Antwerp, Limbourg
2. Ghent—East and West Flanders
3. Liége—Liége and Luxembourg
4. Mons—Hainaut and Namur
(5. *Lille—Northern France*)

Feldkommandanturen

1. Antwerp for Antwerp
2. Hasselt for Limburg
3. Bruges for West Flanders
4. Eecloo for East Flanders

Ortskommandanturen (one for each large town)

Kreiskommandanturen (Usually at *Chef-Lieu* of an *arrondissement*)

All *Ober-* and *Feldkommandanturen* have military tribunals attached.

Belgian ADMINISTRATION

REGIONAL

Nine Provincial Govenors (all new and German appointed)

Local Government has been re-modelled after the German " leadership principle " by Romsée. All popularly elected bodies have been abolished. The towns of Antwerp, Ghent, La Louvière, Charleroi, Brussels and Liége have been very much enlarged by a " Royal Commissioner for the large centres of population appointed by Romsée.

CENTRAL

Secretary Generals for—

1. Justice
2. Finance*
3. Interior (Romsée)†
4. Agriculture, including Food*
5. Economic Affairs (Leemans)†
6. Public Works.
7. Education
8. Labour and Social Insurance
9. Colonies
10. Communications

Party Organisation :

AO-Belgien of NSDAP with *Landesgruppenleiter*. Branches of DAF, NSV, HJ, BDM and NSF. Daily German paper "*Brüsseler Zeitung*." German *Gymnasium* in Brussels. German Academy in Brussels with branches (*Mittelstellen*) in Antwerp, Ghent and Liége. German Institute at Brussels.

Belgian Fascist Organisations: the best known, but not the only ones, are (1) *Vlaamisch National Verbond* (VNV), Flemish. (2) Rexist Movement, Walloon. Political Armies: *Dietsche Militie-Zwarte* Brigade (VNV), SS-*Vlandeeren* (VNV)—*Combat de Rex*.

Auxiliary Police: Flemish Factory Guard—Flemish Guard—Walloon Guard—Flemish and Walloon Country Guards (*Boevewacht* and *La Guard Rurale*). These are under special German supervision as are the different fighting legions.

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* The Belgian economic system is split up into twelve divisions (Industry, etc.), and these again into sections. Commissioners have been attached by the Economic General Staff to all business concerns. The control over all important other institutions is exercised by delegates and liaison officers.

* Administered by the original Secretaries-General.
† The chief quislings.

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VI.—A MORE RECENTLY-CREATED REICHSGAU

Example : " REICHSGAU WARTHELAND " (exclusively Polish territory)
(for military purposes : Wehrkreis XXI, POZNAN)

" The Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) in the Warthegau "
(also *Gauleiter* and Reich Defence Commissioner)

General Deputy within the State administration (an *SA-Oberführer*)
General Deputy within the Gau Self-Government (*Gauhauptmann*)

The Adjutant of the *Gauleiter* and Reich Governor
In his Department : the Planner of the Gau and Recorder-General for space distribution.

DEPARTMENTS (*Abteilungen*)

I.—General (Internal and Financial Affairs). Head : an SS-*Oberführer*.
II.—Public Health and " Care of the People " (*Volkspflege*).
III.—Education (Schools ; Cultural Care and Care for the Community).*
IV.—Agriculture (including Resettlement and Regional Food Office B.).
V.—Economic Affairs and Labour (including Regional Economic Office).
VI.—Regional Forestry Office (*Landesforstamt*).
VII.—Building (Building Construction, Road-building, Waterway Construction).
VIII.—Waterway Management (*Wasserstrassendirektion*).
IX.—Main Surveying Department.

The Senior SS and Police Leader with the Reich Governor in Poznan (*SS-Obergruppenführer*)—
(*a*) the Commander of the Uniformed Police ;
(*b*) the Inspector of the Security Police and the Security Service.
(*c*) the Representative of the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanhood.

In addition, the *Reichsgau* has the following institutions directly under the authorities shown :—
Court of Appeal (*Oberlandesgericht*)—Reich Minister of Justice.
Reich Railway Management (*Reichsbahndirektion*)—Reich Minister of Transport.
Reich Post Management (*Reichspostdirektion*)—Reich Minister of Postal Services.
Regional Labour Office with fifteen local Labour offices—Reich Minister of Labour.
Regional Office of Reich Trustee for Labour—Reich Minister of Labour.
Reich Propaganda Office No. 37—Reich Minister of Propaganda.
The Supreme Finance President " Wartheland " with five Departments and thirty-eight local Finance Offices (inland revenue), eight Chief Customs and twelve Reich Building Offices.

Regional Administration of the three *Regierungsbezirke :*

Regierungspräsident. Deputy : *Regierungsvizepräsident.*

Departments.

I.—General and Internal Affairs.
II.—Education and Popular Instruction.
III.—Economic Affairs.
IV.—Agriculture and Demesnes.

Each *Regierungsbezirk* is subdivided into *Stadt-* and *Landkreise.* (Heads : *Oberbürgermeister* and *Landrat* respectively.)

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* The *Reichsuniversität Posen* is administered by the Reich Minister of Education in Berlin.

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VII.—A TERRITORY UNDER A "CHIEF OF ADMINISTRATION"

Example: ALSACE (French *Départements Haut Rhin* and *Bas Rhin*)

The Chief of Civil Administration (at the same time *Reichstatthalter* of *Land* Baden)—Adjutant.

His Departments are :—

I.—Central (ten sections and the Office of the General *Referent* for Alsace with five sections).

II.—" Public Enlightenment " and Propaganda (eight sections).

III.—Administration and Police (fourteen sections, latter including Commander of Uniformed Police and Gendarmerie). The head is Minister of the Interior and *Land* Baden. Attached: Plenipotentiary for property of enemy nationals and enemies of the State (five Sections). Public Health. Insurance. Statistical Office.

IV.—Education and " Popular Knowledge." The Head is the Minister of Education of *Land* Baden.

(1) Secondary Schools—controlling 28 German Secondary Schools.

(2) Elementary, Intermediate and Vocational Schools—controlling 1,105 elementary, 52 intermediate, 171 part-time vocational schools.

(3) Art and Science—4 colleges of music.*

V.—Finance and Economic Affairs (eighteen sections). The Head is the Minister-President of *Land* Baden.

VI.—Building Affairs (five sections, including Department for Reconstruction). Head: the Chief of Civil Administration.

In addition, *Alsace* has :—

Court of Appeal (*Oberlandesgericht*) Colmar.
Postal Services under Reich Post Management, Karlsruhe (Baden).
Railways (1,047 km.) under Reich Railway Management, Karlsruhe; with five *Betriebsämter* in Alsace.
Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise under Supreme Finance President, Karlsruhe; with fourteen Finance Offices, five main and thirty-six local Customs and Excise Offices in Alsace.

The seat of the Gau Economic Chamber " Upper Rhine " (which comprises Baden and Alsace) is in Strasbourg.

Alsace is part of Wehrkreis V. There are: a Recruiting Area (*Wehrersatzinspektion*)—Headquarters in Strasbourg—and seven Sub-Areas (*Wehrbezirkskommandos*). Senior SS and Police Leader of Wehrkreis V (Stuttgart) commands Alsace as well, and the Inspector of the Security Police and SD has a special office in Strasbourg.

Local Administration

Twelve *Landkreise* (Head: *Landeskommissar*, who is in charge of local Police and supervises State Administration and " self-government ").

Three *Stadtkreise* (Head: *Oberstadtkommissar*. Strasbourg has fifty-one different *Ämter* for 200,000 inhabitants; Mulhouse thirty-three for 116,000; Colmar eighteen for 53,000 inhabitants).

Nine hundred and thirty-one Communes. Head: *Bürgermeister*.

The German Municipal Act of 1935 and all other laws have been introduced, including conscription.

NSDAP in Alsace is headed by Deputy Gauleiter of Baden who has his central offices in the Gau House, Strasbourg. All affiliated organisations and formations have their Sub-Offices for Alsace and local Branches in the *Kreise*. The NSDAP controls the following dailies: *Strassburger Neuste Nachrichten, Mülhauser Tageblatt, Kolmarer Kurier.*

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* The *Reichsuniversität Strassburg* is administered by the Reich Minister of Education in Berlin.

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Source: "*Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte*," 1943, edited by Dr. Warnack (page 564).

VIII.—REICHSMINISTERIUM FÜR DIE BESETZTEN OSTGEBIETE (RMfdbO).

(Kurfürstenstrasse 134, Berlin, W. 35)

Reichsminister
Persönlicher Referent
Pressechef
Ständiger Vertreter des Reichsministers
Persönlicher Referent
Der Sonderbeauftragte für die Arbeitskräfte aus den besetzten Ostgebieten.

Beauftragter für Sonderfragen.
Generalreferent für Raumordnung.

Generalreferent für Wirtschaftsfragen
Sonderabteilung Treuhandverwaltung

Abteilung Z (*Zentralverwaltung*) *Leiter*	*Hauptabteilung I* (*Politik*) *Leiter*	*Hauptabteilung II* (*Verwaltung*) *Leiter*	*Hauptabteilung III** (*Wirtschaft*) "*Führungsstab Wirtschaftspolitik*" *Leiter*	*Hauptabteilung IV* (*Technik*) *Leiter*	*Geschäftsbereich Nachgeordnete Dienststellen*
Three *Abteilungen* each with *Leiter*:— *Geschaftsführung* *Hauptamt* *Beschaffungsamt* *Nebenstellen des Ministeriums* 1. *Archiv der kontinentaleuropäischen Forschung* 2. *Zentralstelle zur Erfassung und Bergung der Kulturgüter in den besetzten Ostgebieten* 3. *Zentralstelle für Ostforschung* 4. *Deutsches Ostbüro* 5. *Monopolstelle des RMfdbO* 6. *Zentralstelle für Angehörige der Völker des Ostens*	Ten *Abteilungen*, each with *Leiter*:— *Allgemeine politische Angelegenheiten* *Ostland* *Ukraine* *Russland* *Kaukasien* *Kulturpolitik* *Volkstums- und Siedlungspolitik* *Presse und Aufklärung* *Jugend* *Frauen*	Nine *Abteilungen*, each with *Leiter*:— *Personal* *Innere Verwaltung* *Gesundheitswesen u. Volkspflege* *Veterinärwesen* *Fürsorge u. Selbsthilfe* *Rechtswesen* *Finanzen* *Wissenschaft u. Kultur* *Treuhandverwaltung*	*Chefgruppe*: *Wirtschaftliche Kooperation* *Organisation und Verwaltung* *Allgemeine Wirtschaft* *Sondergruppe gewerbliche Wirtschaft* *Preisbildung und Preisüberwachung* *Verkehr* *Chefgruppe*: *Ernährung und Landwirtschaft* *Landwirtschaftliche Organisation und Verwaltung* *Erzeugung* *Erfassung* *Chefgruppe*: *Forst- und Holzwirtschaft* *Organisation und Verwaltung* *Forstwirtschaft* *Holzwirtschaft* *Hauptabteilung*: *Arbeit und Sozialpolitik*	Five *Abteilungen*, each with *Leiter*:— *Strassenbahn* *Wasserstrassen und Häfen* *Wasserwirtschaft* *Hoch- und Industriebau* *Energieausbau*	*Reichskommissar für das Ostland in Riga* *Reichskommissar für die Ukraine in Rowno* Ten *Generalkommissare*:— *Reval* *Riga* *Kaunas* *Minsk* *Wolhynien* (*Lulzk*) *Zitomir* *Kiev* *Nikolaiev* *Dnjepropetrovsk* *Crimea* (*Melitopol*)

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* "*Die Hauptabteilung III* (*Wirtschaft*) *ist für die Dauer des Krieges nicht besetzt. An ihre Stelle tritt für diese Zeit der* '*Führungsstab Wirtschaftspolitik*'."

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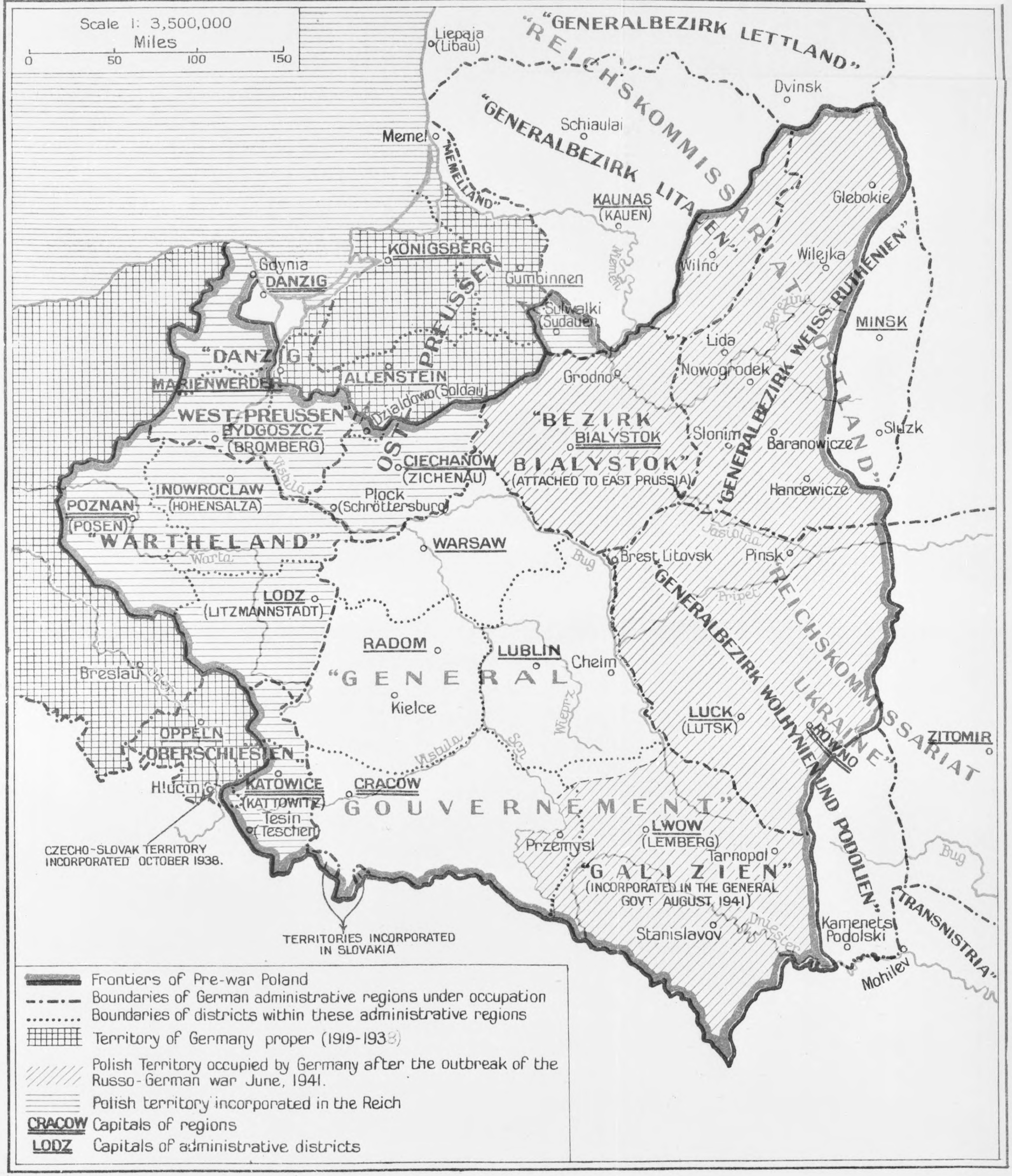
THE DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND


Scale 1: 3,500,000
Miles
0
50
100
150
Liepaja
(Libau)
"GENERALBEZIRK LETTLAND"
"REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND"
Dvinsk
"GENERALBEZIRK LITAUEN"
Schiaulai
Memel
"MEMELLAND"
KAUNAS
(KAUEN)
Glebokie
KÖNIGSBERG
Gdynia
DANZIG
Gumbinnen
Niemen
Wilno
Wilejka
"GENERALBEZIRK WEISS RUTHENIEN"
"OST PREUSSEN"
Suwalki
(Sudauen)
Berezina
MINSK
"DANZIG
MARIENWERDER
ALLENSTEIN
Lida
Nowogrodek
Grodno
Dzialdowo (Soldau)
WEST PREUSSEN"
BYDGOSZCZ
(BROMBERG)
"BEZIRK
BIALYSTOK
BIALYSTOK"
(ATTACHED TO EAST PRUSSIA)
Slonim
Baranowicze
Slutzk
CIECHANOW
(ZICHENAU)
Vistula
INOWROCLAW
(HOHENSALZA)
Plock
(Schröttersburg)
Hancewicze
POZNAN
(POSEN)
"WARTHELAND"
Warta
WARSAW
Jasiolda
Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pinsk
LODZ
(LITZMANNSTADT)
Pripet
"GENERALBEZIRK WOLHYNIEN UND PODOLIEN"
"REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE"
RADOM
LUBLIN
Chelm
"GENERAL GOUVERNEMENT"
Breslau
Oder
Kielce
Wieprz
LUCK
(LUTSK)
ROWNO
ZITOMIR
OPPELN
OBERSCHLESIEN
Vistula
San
Hlucin
KATOWICE
(KATTOWITZ)
CRACOW
Tesin
(Teschen)
Przemysl
LWOW
(LEMBERG)
Tarnopol
Bug
CZECHO-SLOVAK TERRITORY
INCORPORATED OCTOBER 1938.
"GALIZIEN"
(INCORPORATED IN THE GENERAL GOVT AUGUST, 1941)
Dniester
Kamenets
Podolski
Stanislavov
"TRANSNISTRIA"
Mohilev
TERRITORIES INCORPORATED
IN SLOVAKIA
Frontiers of Pre-war Poland
Boundaries of German administrative regions under occupation
Boundaries of districts within these administrative regions
Territory of Germany proper (1919-1938)
Polish Territory occupied by Germany after the outbreak of the Russo-German war June, 1941.
Polish territory incorporated in the Reich
CRACOW Capitals of regions
LODZ Capitals of administrative districts

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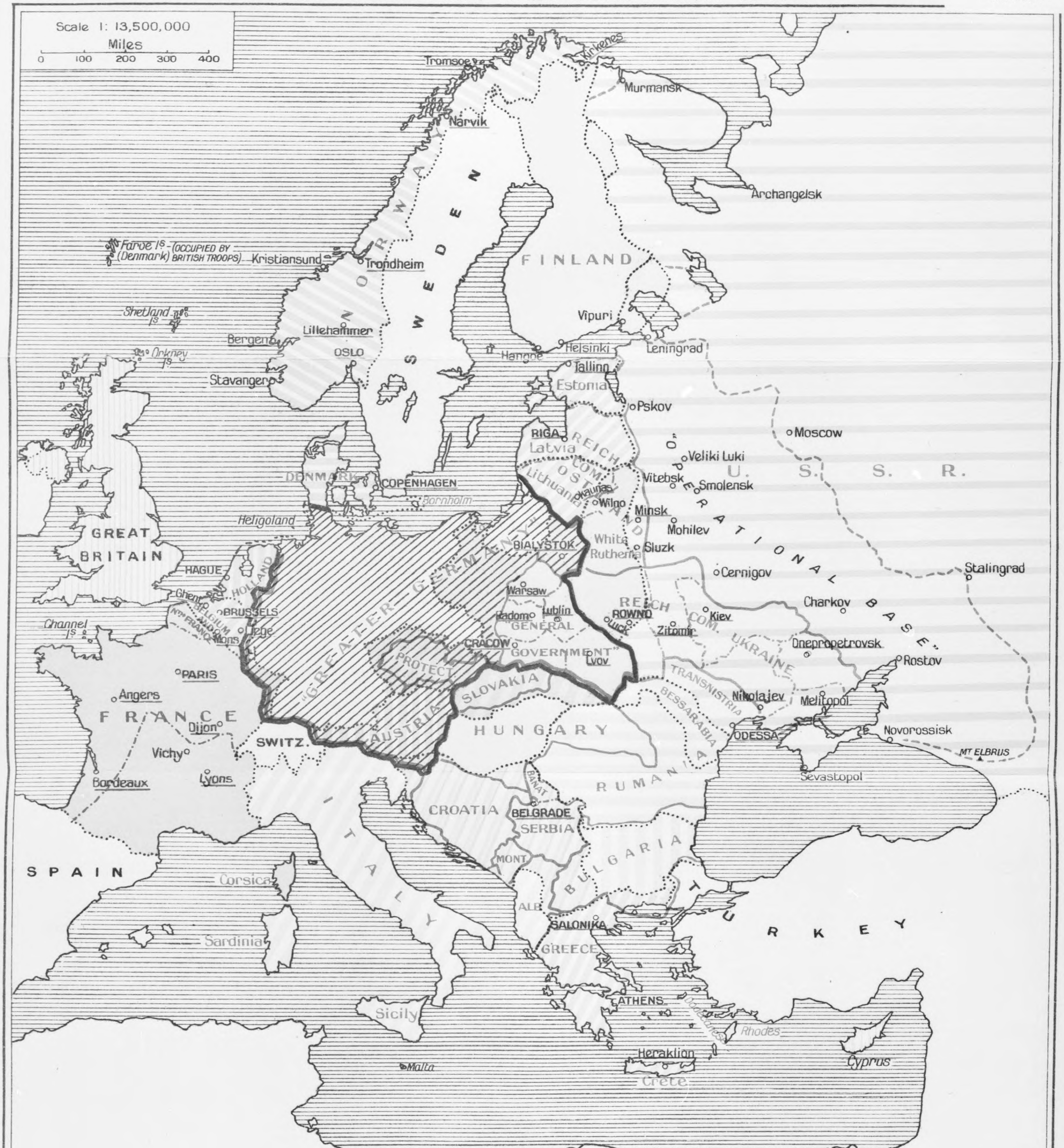
EUROPE UNDER NAZI DOMINATION 1942


Scale 1: 13,500,000
Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Tromsoe
Kirkenes
Murmansk
Narvik
Archangelsk
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Faroe Is (Denmark) (OCCUPIED BY BRITISH TROOPS)
Kristiansund
Trondheim
Shetland Is
Vipuri
Lillehammer
Bergen
OSLO
Hangoe
Helsinki
Tallinn
Leningrad
Orkney Is
Stavanger
Estonia
Pskov
RIGA
Latvia
REICH COM. OSTLAND
Moscow
"OPERATIONAL BASE"
Veliki Luki
Vitebsk
Smolensk
U. S. S. R.
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Bornholm
Lithuania
Kaunas
Wilno
Minsk
Heligoland
Mohilev
GREAT BRITAIN
White Ruthenia
Sluzk
BIALYSTOK
"GREATER GERMANY"
Cernigov
Stalingrad
HAGUE
HOLLAND
Warsaw
Ghent
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Nth FRANCE
Liege
Mons
Channel Is
Radom
Lublin
"GENERAL GOVERNMENT"
REICH COM. UKRAINE
ROWNO
Luck
Kiev
Charkov
Zitomir
Dnepropetrovsk
Rostov
CRACOW
PROTECT
Lvov
PARIS
Angers
FRANCE
Dijon
Vichy
Lyons
Bordeaux
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
SWITZ.
HUNGARY
TRANSNISTRIA
BESSARABIA
Nikolajev
Melitopol
ODESSA
Novorossisk
MT ELBRUS
Sevastopol
RUMANIA
BANAT
CROATIA
BELGRADE
SERBIA
ITALY
SPAIN
Corsica
MONT
BULGARIA
ALB
SALONIKA
TURKEY
Sardinia
GREECE
ATHENS
Dodecanese
Rhodes
Sicily
Heraklion
Crete
Malta
Cyprus
International Frontiers 1938 (also shaded in colour)
Frontiers created by the Axis Powers 1938-43
Satellite States in yellow colours or lines
Frontiers of "Greater Germany"
Czechoslovakia
Yugoslavia
Neutral Countries — in white
Furthest German-Finnish advance in Russia
ROWNO Capital of Administrative Region
Lublin or Angers Capital of Administrative or Military District
Newly created Regional boundaries

AXIS DOMINATION OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE 1941 - 1944

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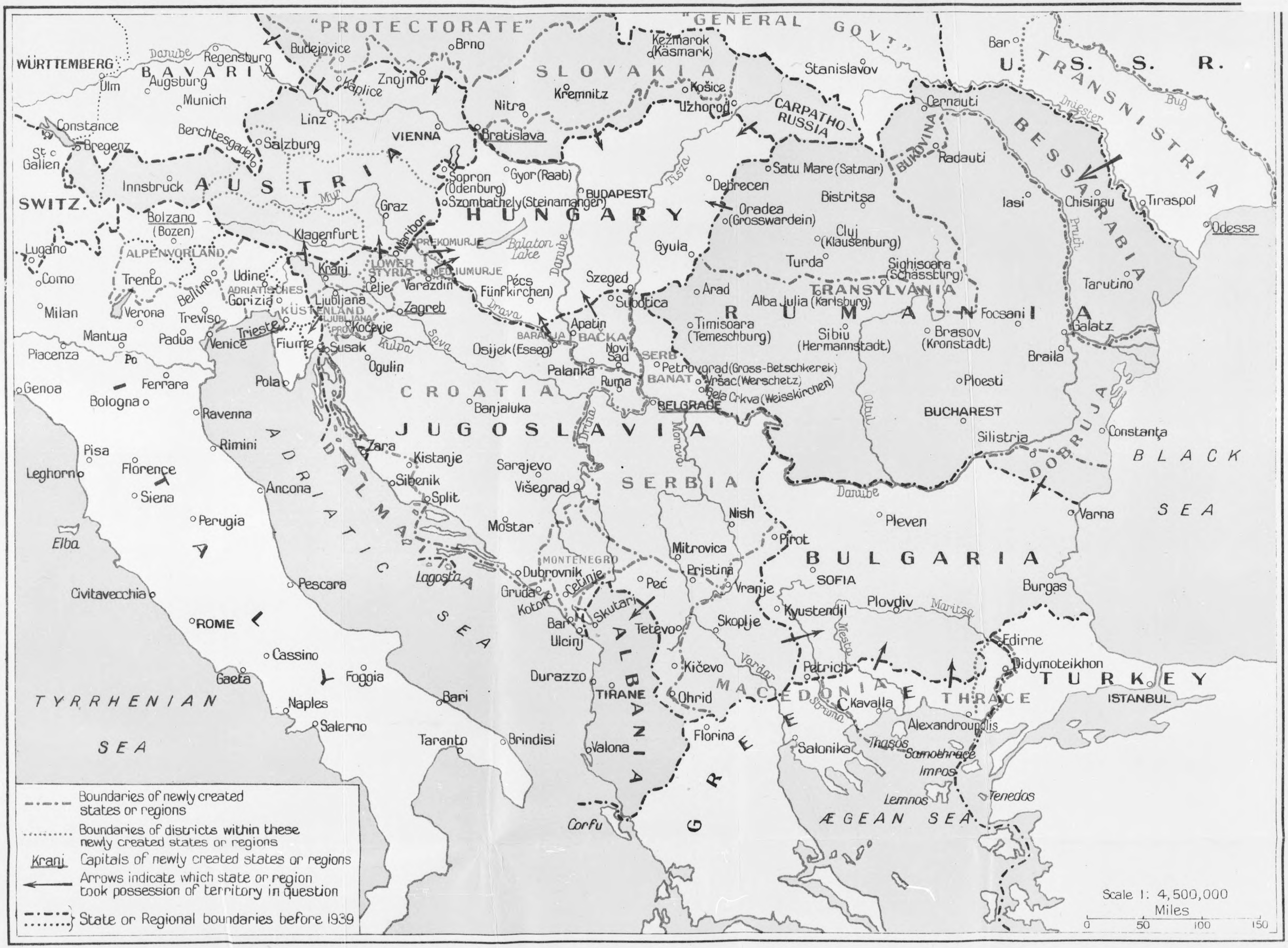
"PROTECTORATE"
"GENERAL GOVT."
U. S. S. R.
TRANSNISTRIA
BESSARABIA
BUKOVINA
CARPATHO-RUSSIA
SLOVAKIA
WÜRTTEMBERG
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
SWITZ.
HUNGARY
PREKOMURJE
LOWER STYRIA
MEDJUMURJE
ALPENVORLAND
ADRIATISCHES KÜSTENLAND
LJUBLJANA PROV.
BARANJA
BACKA
SERB BANAT
CROATIA
JUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
GREECE
BULGARIA
RUMANIA
TRANSYLVANIA
DOBRUJA
TURKEY
ITALY
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
Danube
Dniester
Bug
Pruth
Tisza
Mur
Drava
Sava
Kulpa
Drina
Morava
Olbul
Maritsa
Mesta
Vardar
Struma
Po
Balaton Lake
Budejovice
Brno
Kežmarok (Kásmark)
Stanislavov
Bar
Regensburg
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
Kaplice
Znojmo
Nitra
Kremnitz
Košice
Užhorod
Cernauti
Radauti
Constance
St Gallen
Bregenz
Berchtesgaden
Salzburg
Linz
VIENNA
Bratislava
Satu Mare (Satmar)
Innsbruck
Sopron (Odenburg)
Gyor (Raab)
Szombathely (Steinamanger)
BUDAPEST
Debrecen
Bistritsa
Iasi
Chisinau
Tiraspol
Odessa
Bolzano (Bozen)
Graz
Oradea (Grosswardein)
Cluj (Klausenburg)
Lugano
Klagenfurt
Maribor
Gyula
Turda
Sighisoara (Schässburg)
Tarutino
Como
Trento
Udine
Kranj
Celje
Varazdin
Pécs (Fünfkirchen)
Szeged
Arad
Alba Julia (Karlsburg)
Milan
Verona
Belluno
Gorizia
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Subotica
Timisoara (Temeschburg)
Sibiu (Hermannstadt)
Brasov (Kronstadt)
Focsani
Galatz
Mantua
Padua
Treviso
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Kočevje
Apatin
Novi Sad
Braila
Piacenza
Susak
Osijek (Esseg)
Palanka
Petrovgrad (Gross-Betschkerek)
Vršac (Werschetz)
Bela Crkva (Weisskirchen)
Ploesti
Ferrara
Pola
Ogulin
Ruma
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
Banjaluka
BELGRADE
BUCHAREST
Constanța
Rimini
Zara
Silistria
Pisa
Kistanje
Leghorn
Florence
Sarajevo
Šibenik
Višegrad
Ancona
Siena
Split
Nish
Pleven
Varna
Perugia
Mostar
Pirot
Elba
Mitrovica
Lagosta
Dubrovnik
Pristina
SOFIA
Burgas
Pescara
Peć
Gruda
Cetinje
Vranje
Civitavecchia
Kotor
Skutari
Kyustendil
Plovdiv
ROME
Bar
Tetevo
Skoplje
Ulcinj
Edirne
Cassino
Kičevo
Patrich
Didymoteikhon
Gaeta
Foggia
Durazzo
TIRANE
Ohrid
Kavalla
ISTANBUL
Naples
Bari
Alexandroupolis
Salerno
Florina
Taranto
Brindisi
Valona
Salonika
Thasos
Samothrace
Imros
Tenedos
Lemnos
Corfu
Boundaries of newly created states or regions
Boundaries of districts within these newly created states or regions
Kranj Capitals of newly created states or regions
Arrows indicate which state or region took possession of territory in question
State or Regional boundaries before 1939
Scale 1: 4,500,000
Miles
0
50
100
150

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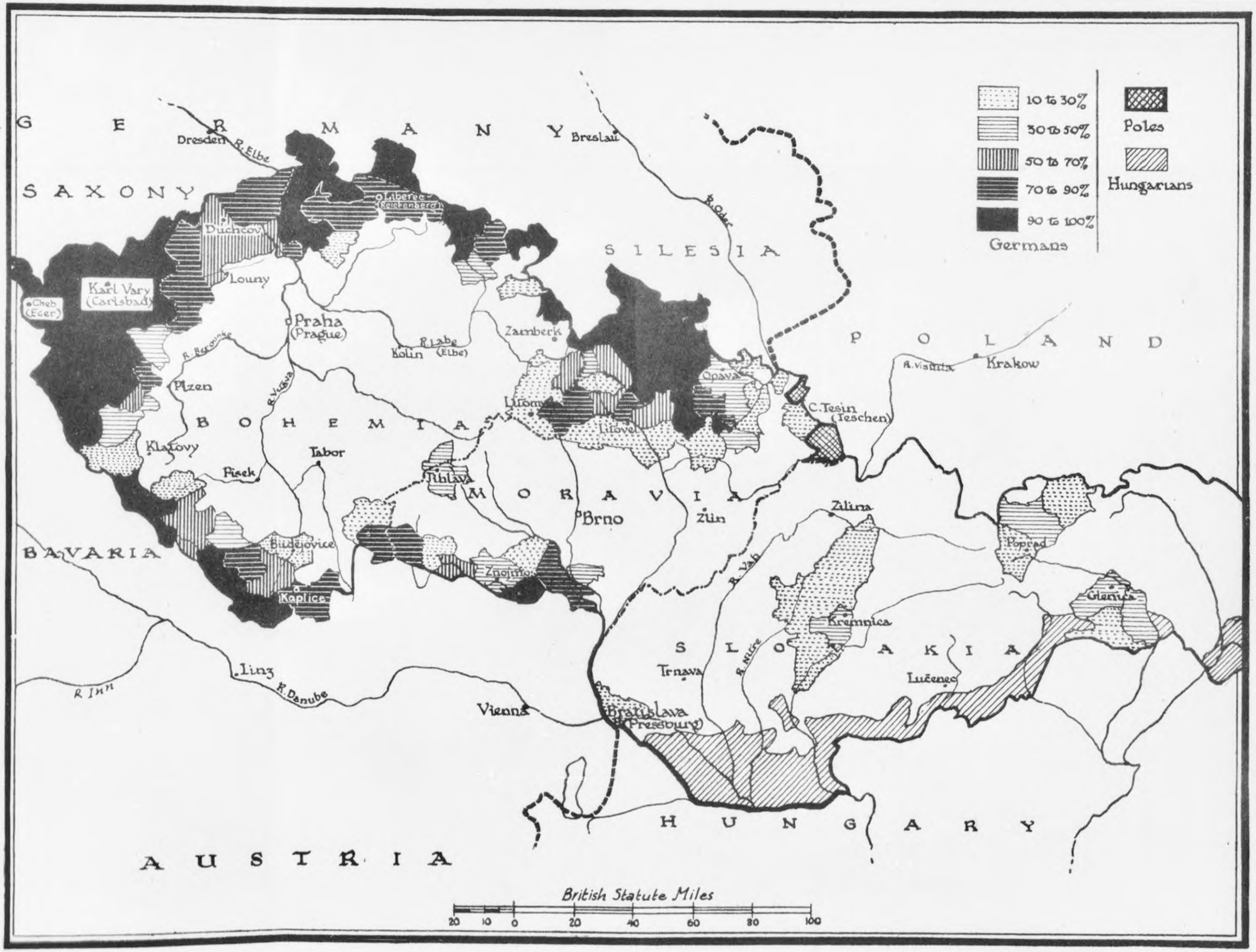
10 to 30%
30 to 50%
50 to 70%
70 to 90%
90 to 100%
Germans
Poles
Hungarians
GERMANY
SAXONY
Dresden
R. Elbe
Breslau
R. Oder
SILESIA
POLAND
Krakow
R. Vistula
Cheb (Eger)
Karl Vary (Carlsbad)
Duchcov
Liberec (Reichenberg)
Louny
Praha (Prague)
Kolin
R. Labe (Elbe)
Zamberk
R. Berounka
Plzen
R. Vltava
BOHEMIA
Klatovy
Pisek
Tabor
Jihlava
Budějovice
Kaplice
Znojmo
MORAVIA
Brno
Zlin
Litovel
Opava
C. Tesin (Teschen)
Zilina
R. Vah
Poprad
Kremnica
Gelnica
SLOVAKIA
R. Nitra
Trnava
Lučenec
Bratislava (Pressburg)
Vienna
Linz
R. Danube
R. Inn
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
British Statute Miles
20
10
0
20
40
60
80
100

DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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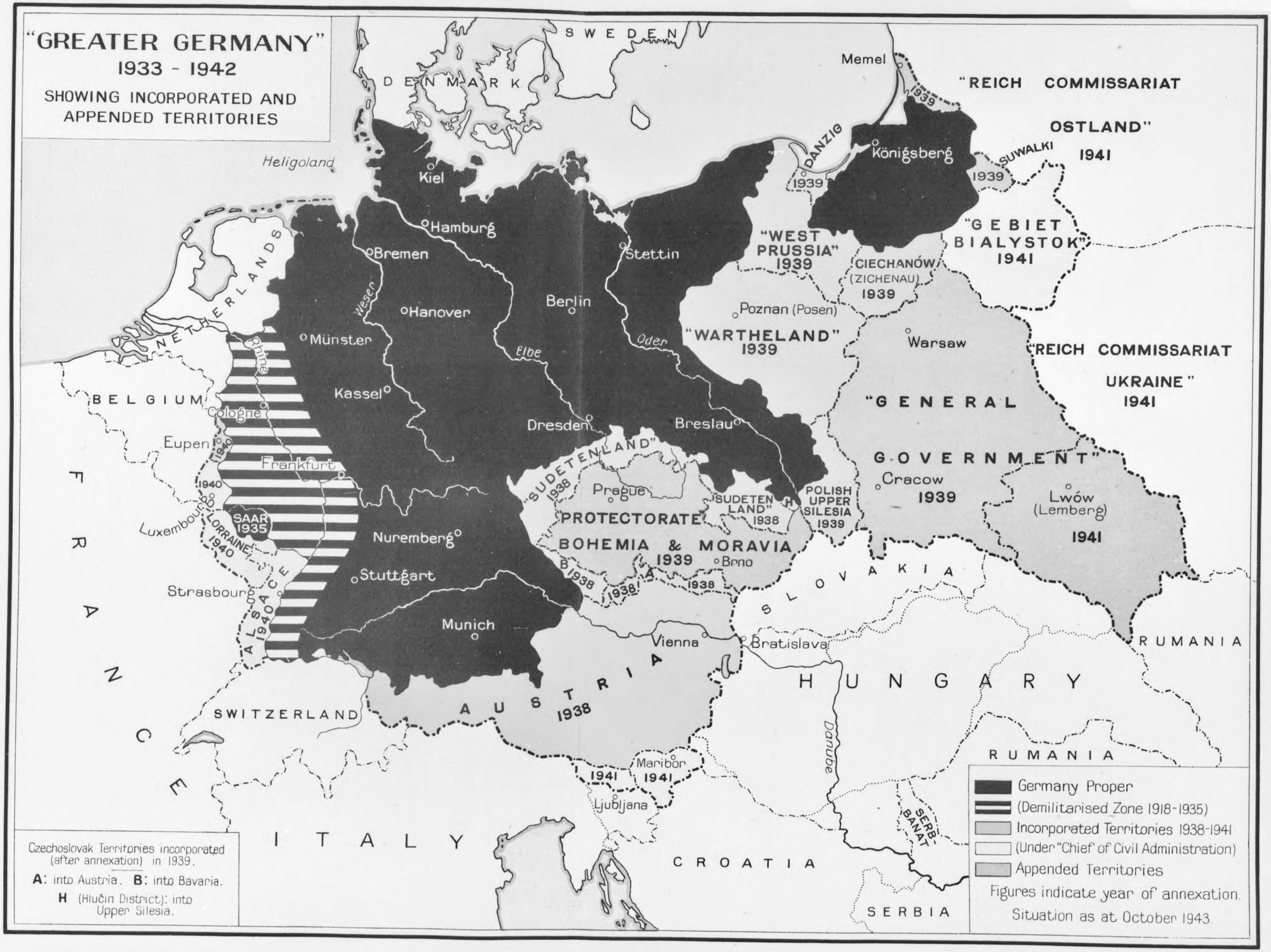
"GREATER GERMANY"

1933 - 1942

SHOWING INCORPORATED AND APPENDED TERRITORIES


SWEDEN
DENMARK
Memel
1939
"REICH COMMISSARIAT OSTLAND" 1941
Heligoland
Kiel
DANZIG
1939
Königsberg
SUWALKI
1939
Hamburg
Bremen
Stettin
"WEST PRUSSIA" 1939
CIECHANÓW (ZICHENAU) 1939
"GEBIET BIALYSTOK" 1941
NETHERLANDS
Weser
Hanover
Berlin
Poznan (Posen)
Münster
Elbe
Oder
"WARTHELAND" 1939
Warsaw
"REICH COMMISSARIAT UKRAINE" 1941
Rhine
BELGIUM
Cologne
Kassel
Dresden
Breslau
"GENERAL GOVERNMENT"
Eupen
1940
Frankfurt
"SUDETENLAND" 1938
Prague
"SUDETEN LAND" 1938
H
POLISH UPPER SILESIA 1939
Cracow 1939
Lwów (Lemberg) 1941
1940
Luxembourg
SAAR 1935
LORRAINE 1940
PROTECTORATE BOHEMIA & MORAVIA 1939
Brno
Nuremberg
B 1938
A 1938
1938
SLOVAKIA
Stuttgart
Strasbourg
ALSACE 1940
Munich
Vienna
Bratislava
RUMANIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA 1938
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
Danube
RUMANIA
Maribor
1941
1941
Ljubljana
SERB-BANAT
ITALY
CROATIA
SERBIA
■ Germany Proper
▤ (Demilitarised Zone 1918-1935)
▨ Incorporated Territories 1938-1941
☐ (Under "Chief of Civil Administration)
▨ Appended Territories

Figures indicate year of annexation.
Situation as at October 1943.

Czechoslovak Territories incorporated (after annexation) in 1939.
A: into Austria. **B**: into Bavaria.
H (Hlučin District): into Upper Silesia.

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RESTRICTED

OCTOBER, 1944

GERMANY
BASIC HANDBOOK

PART III

NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE

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CHAPTER IV The Nazi Foreign Organisation and the German Minorities ("Ethnic Groups") 69

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(*The information contained in Part III is believed to be valid for conditions up to September 30th, 1944, unless otherwise stated in the text*)

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NURNBERG, GERMANY
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1 book